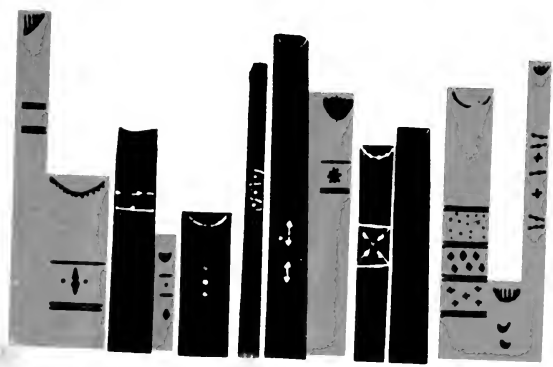


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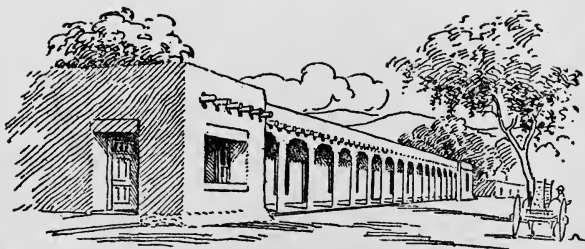
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VOL. XI

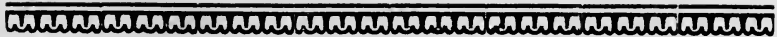
JANUARY, 1936

No. 1



PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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THEODOSIUS MEYER, O. F. M.

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The Historical Society of New Mexico

(INCORPORATED)

Organized December 26, 1859

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CONSTITUTION

OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 19, 1929)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

Article 7. *Publications.* All publications of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

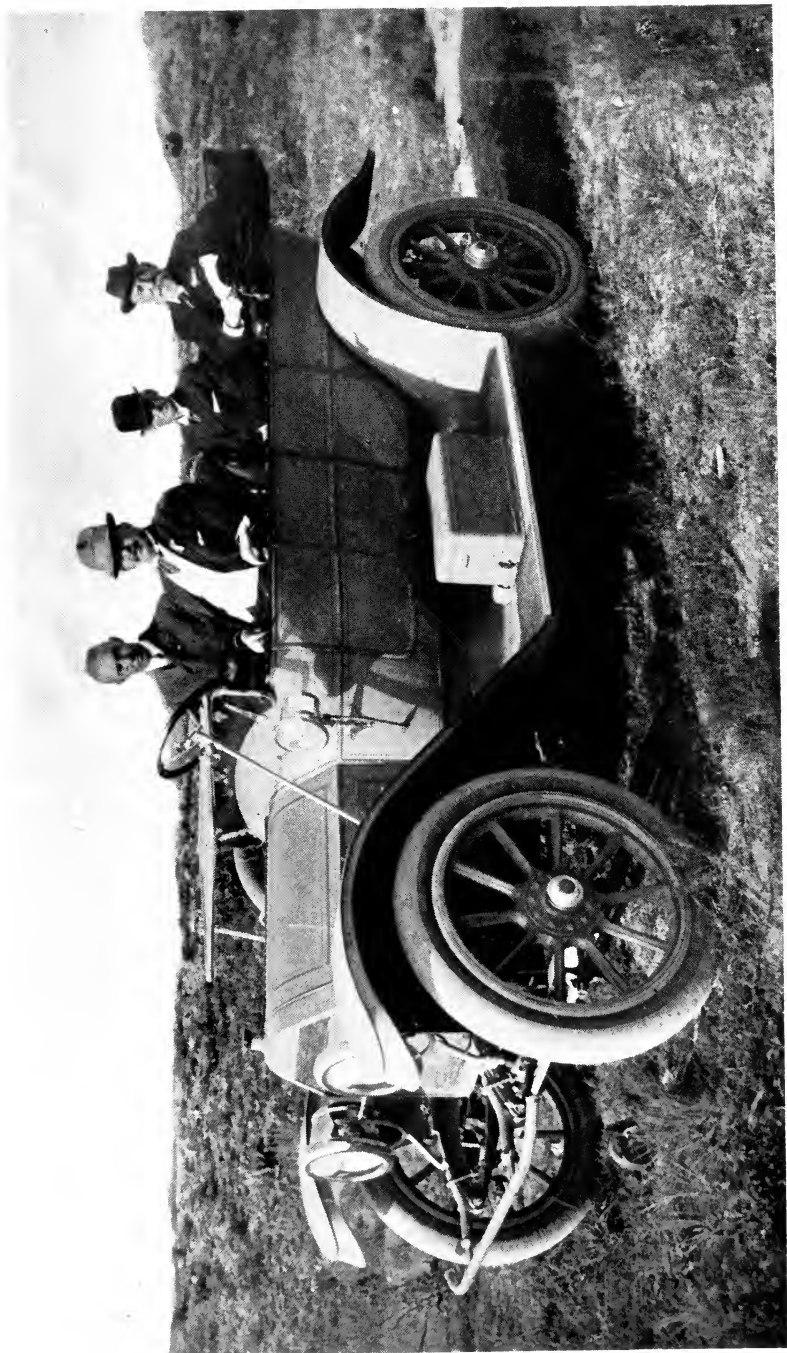
Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Lansing B. Bloom, State University, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

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AN EARLY EXECUTIVE AUTOMOBILE

The late ex-Governor Herbert J. Hagerman at the wheel of his right-hand drive automobile, with ex-Governor Otero at his left; at the left in the rear seat the late ex-Governor LeBaron Bradford Prince; at the right ex-Governor William T. Thornton. This picture was taken on Fort Marcy about 1912. Experts pronounce the car a Cadillac model.

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XI

JANUARY, 1936

No. 1

NEW MEXICO'S FIRST STATE AUTOMOBILE

By E. DANA JOHNSON

THE FIRST official gasoline vehicle of state in New Mexico was an imposing Ford automobile of the vintage of the early 1900's, owned, driven and frequently execrated by Territorial Governor Miguel A. Otero at the turn of the century.

While Governor Otero is under the impression that he bought the car in 1900, various testimony indicates that the year was about 1904, in which twelvemonth the first four automobiles to break the motorless silence of the Ancient City of the Holy Faith made their appearance after the lapse of some three hundred years of history. Local wiseacres claim that the first car to arrive in Santa Fé was that of Dr. J. M. Díaz, a Stevens-Duryea; the second, a Winton, was introduced to the startled population by Colonel Edmund C. Abbott; and numbers three and four, which were simultaneous, were the twin Fords purchased by Gov. Otero and J. Wallace Raynolds, known to fame through his tenure of office as Secretary of the Territory and Acting Governor.

Paul A. F. Walter deposes and says that it was in 1904 that he was building a "jig-saw" fence in front of his Palace avenue property; and that Mrs. Miguel A. Otero stopped the gubernatorial gas-chariot there and told Mrs. Walter that "your fence makes my automobile wobble every time I ride by."

It appears from all authorities that this brass-bound, high-seated, narrow-tread, lofty-clearance triumph of mechanical genius in the realm of transportation partook of the Gayety of the Gay Nineties and to that leisurely phase

added a hint of the genius of the speed-age of the Twentieth Century.

Governor Otero's Ford was the predecessor of fleets of official New Mexico cars; of an investment of \$100,000,000 in 100,000 automobiles and motor trucks and an annual expenditure, it is said, of some \$12,000,000 for gasoline in New Mexico, something at that time inconceivable in the wildest flights of imagination. The executive would undoubtedly have been skeptical of the sanity of any one who told him in 1904 that the people of this commonwealth would in thirty years be spending more to get from place to place than on all their public schools and state institutions.

It was just three years later that the Pope-Toledo automobile electrified the world with a record of fifty miles an hour. In 1904 a Durango dare-devil won a bet that his auto could cover 200 miles in a day. It took him fourteen hours. Meanwhile folks got a terrific thrill out of the sensational speed of thirty miles per. The drunken driver and the daily highway massacre were utterly unknown in those primitive times when there were hardly a dozen gas-propelled vehicles in the territory. These included the massive red Thomas Flyer owned by Banker M. W. Flournoy, in Albuquerque; the jaunty two-lunger Maxwell driven by Dr. John W. Elder there and the automobile which I. Singer guided with a handle like that of a feather-duster.

In 1904 the motor vehicle makers were just beginning to get away from the persistent idea of an automobile which had to look like a buggy, with bicycle wheels, and three years later almost all makes uniformly had high, heavily upholstered seats, no doors, rickety surrey-canopies anchored in front with long leather straps, a maze of levers at the side of the front seat, low hoods, heavy, shiny brass headlights and parking lamps still of the buggy pattern, a horn operated by a fat rubber bulb, large wooden-spoked wheels and small-caliber pneumatic tires.

The first automobiles in Santa Fé as elsewhere were the advance guard of the greatest era of road building in his-

tory. At that time no one yet knew certainly whether or not the automobile was a passing fad, like the bicycle. In 1900 a handful of factories produced only about 4,000 autos, and crowds still followed them on the streets. But six years later ninety firms placed 18,000 motor vehicles on the market, and it first began to dawn on the public that they must have something better to run on. The new rubber tires pulled to pieces the old fashioned macadam roads, made for buggies and wagons. Experiments began with bituminous binders, oil and tar. Even with heavy veils the motoring ladies choked on the dust, and off the beaten path miry, rutty wagon-roads were impassable for the new vehicle.

Thus the "good-roads" movement was born. In 1913 it had brought such organizations as the National Old Trails Association. The idea dawned of a "coast to coast highway." In the early 1900's a pioneer named Westguard got nation-wide publicity for the adventurous trip of a Reo through the Southwest, Santa Fé and Albuquerque, to the Pacific—as hazardous an enterprise as a trip down the west coast of Mexico today. New Mexico was early in the procession and joined with Missouri, Kansas, and Colorado for an improved Santa Fé Trail before there was a national organization. Crossing the western prairies and mountains by auto became the most alluring of adventures. From then on the development of gasoline passenger and freight traffic became the most revolutionary social and economic phenomenon of American annals. The automobile industry steadily grew gigantic, and millions of Americans, thrilled with new sight-seeing possibilities, started out on the Road to Elsewhere.

In 1906, leaders were the Pierce Great Arrow at \$4,000 to \$4,200, Maxwell at \$1,450, Sterns, the \$2,500 Rambler, the \$3,500 Northern with real airbrakes, the Columbia, "smartest car ever put on the market," Pope-Toledo, Baker Electric, Cadillac, Stoddard-Dayton, Peerless, Winton, Locomobile, Haynes-Apperson, the White and Toledo steam carriages. The cars were invariably four-cylinder, forty

horsepower machines. The Ford was still somewhat in the background, little heard of in the advertising, the world-shaking Model T yet to burst upon the pedestrian public. Ford was busy experimenting. He got out a six-cylinder car with a hood nearly six feet long.

How far we have progressed in the era of uncountable garages, service stations, filling stations, is indicated by a glance at *Country Life in America* in 1907, which carried a long illustrated article on "How to Overhaul an Automobile," with explicit directions to the car-owner how to dissect it into all its component parts and re-assemble them with none left over. Today if the carbureter develops a slight hoarseness or there is a grease-spot on the upholstery the owner immediately telephones to the garage, and the majority of motorists have only a nebulous idea of what is under the hood, if anything.

During his nine years as territorial executive Governor Otero was always a stickler for due and fitting official pomp and state ceremony. The brilliantly uniformed Otero Guards paraded at his frequent inaugurations and his omnipresent official staff was heavily loaded with gold braid and epaulettes.

It was with characteristic enterprise that he decided to keep abreast of the times and substitute the gas-wagon for the victoria-and-four as the equipage of state.

The capital awaited the arrival of the Otero and Raynolds automobiles with considerable excitement and from all accounts their subsequent careers were of recurring stimulus to the popular entertainment.

"The two Fords," said Governor Otero, with a reminiscent grin, "each painted yellow, each a four-seater touring car, occupied a whole freight car on the Santa Fé railroad and Mr. Raynolds and myself were at the station to supervise the delicate job of unloading them when they arrived. We had quite a crowd of spectators and a good many remarks from the bystanders."

The Fords were filled with gas and with unexampled moral courage and hardihood the two newly fledged motorists put on their heavy black leather gauntlets, donned their heavy leather motoring caps, adjusted their motoring coats, took their places at the wheel, manipulated the levers at the side, stepped on the gas and went up town. It is of interest in this connection that so far as known neither had ever previously touched the wheel of an automobile or taken a single lesson in its operation. "I didn't know a thing about running a car, but we got away with it," said the governor. It is reported there were scattered cheers as the vehicles clattered and banged up Montezuma avenue, past the capitol, and reached the owners' respective homes.

"That, however, was only the beginning," said Governor Otero in an ominous tone. At this point we may pass on for a moment to see the end.

"Four months later a man came up from Albuquerque, called on me and asked me if it were true I had an automobile for sale," said the author of *My Life on the Frontier*. I clutched him tightly and hurriedly piloted him to my new garage, probably at that time the best of the few in the territory.

"I showed him the Ford and after he had looked it over he offered me \$400 for it. It had cost me \$2,400 in the first instance and about \$275 a month to operate.

" 'You can have it on one condition,' I told him. 'That is, that you promise also to take every single thing in the garage connected with it, tools, parts, gadgets, appurtenances, accessories, supplies, and everything which could possibly remind me of it.' I told him moreover that if he refused I would get in the auto and chase him all the way to Albuquerque if necessary, run him down and take the check from him by force. But he made out the check and signed it and I stuck it in my pocket, helping him to load up all the dinguses in the car, and experiencing a feeling of great relief when he finally drove it out of the yard. He ran it in Albuquerque for many years; in fact may be running it

yet, as it was indestructible. Thereafter I made a solemn vow that I would never own another automobile until I was able to hire a chauffeur to run and take care of it, which resolution I have kept scrupulously to this day.

"You must remember that in those days there were no public garages or filling stations where there are now thousands, and very few repair shops equipped to do automobile work. There were no paved or graveled roads to speak of, the highways were not made for cars, and if it rained and got muddy you simply stayed wherever you happened to be.

"If anything went wrong with the car, if you had a flat, or carbon in the cylinders, or broken steering gear you either fixed it yourself or sent a telegram to R. L. Dodson in Albuquerque, and he came up to fix the car at a cost of \$15 a day and expenses. Apparently Dodson was the only man in New Mexico who knew much about the insides of a car. And when you bought an automobile you had to purchase a whole automobile supply stock. When I got the Ford I bought a drum of gasoline, several dozen gallons of oil, numerous boxes of inner tubes, extra casings, chains, jacks, tire tools, wrenches, vulcanizing outfits, pumps, oilcans and other paraphernalia too numerous to mention."

Governor Otero estimates that during his four months as a motor-car owner he probably did more walking than during any other similar period in his life. His recollection is that it was the Raynolds auto which took its owner, the governor and a party of friends down to Bonanza, some ten miles out of Santa Fé, near the turquoise mines. Everybody wore motoring clothes, the women having voluminous veils tied over their hats and large goggles were considered indispensable. "The automobile broke down," said Otero. "I was elected to walk in to the penitentiary to send a team of horses out and haul the thing in."

"On another occasion I drove out over the winding wagon-road to Tesuque, six miles distant. The machine gurgled, choked and died and would not resume. After I had walked as far toward Santa Fé as the top of the Tesuque

Hill I met a man whom Raynolds had sent to my rescue. I instructed him to go on out and burn the car up, and I walked home."

The governor was unable to recall all the misadventures connected with the gubernatorial Ford. He did mention a trip to Lamy Junction with the late Levi A. Hughes and several other friends who were having a jovial evening in the open air; the vehicle thundered into a deep sandy arroyo and stood on its front end, being righted with considerable toil and labor but with no serious injury to the occupants.

Mrs. Otero, according to the governor, drove the car a great deal. In case of a flat tire, she would just tie a rope around the tube, casing and rim and thump along. She was having trouble with the machine one day in front of the Palace of the Governors. A truck driver for Charley Dudrow politely tied his horses and jumped down to assist her in turning the automobile around. It backed suddenly and violently and broke his nose.

"I remember," said the governor, "what was probably the most agile movement ever made by the late Levi Hughes. I was driving up Palace avenue with Mr. Hughes, the late Charles A. Spiess of Las Vegas and my young son Miguel on board. I attempted to turn in high gear without stopping and start back down town. Something went wrong with the mechanism. To avoid crashing into a telegraph pole I had to drive over a high bank into the Arroyo Sais. As we started over Mr. Hughes and Mr. Spiess soared out of the car. Miguel stuck with me and we landed in the bottom of the arroyo right side up with no bloodshed. Citizens came running to the rescue and with their assistance we managed to extricate the car."

To avoid frightening horses and thus causing disastrous runaways seems to have been one of the prime responsibilities of a motorist in 1904.

It is to be regretted that the Historical Society of New Mexico is unable to add to its carretas and stagecoaches this first official state automobile in New Mexico. It deserves a

place in the State Museum. A place in the transportation collection should also be awarded to the first home-made coal-burning steam automobile fabricated by Walter Miller of Santa Fé, which, when short of fuel in the country, subsisted on fence posts and piñon fagots and inhaled water through a hose from convenient streams.

This machine, it is said, caused such widespread public panic that the common council eventually barred it from operating inside the city limits. Another vanished but historic vehicle of later date was the pioneer motorcycle of Jesse L. Nusbaum, whose deafening siren so afflicted public nerves that the motorcycle was also made subject to municipal regulation.



Courtesy of Walter Miller

A HOME-MADE AUTOMOBILE

CHURCH AND STATE IN NEW MEXICO 1610-1650

By FRANCE V. SCHOLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

THE guiding principles of Spanish governmental policy from the age of Ferdinand and Isabella to the nineteenth century were orthodoxy and absolutism. By the conquest of Granada, the establishment of the Inquisition as a separate tribunal for the extirpation of heresy, the expulsion of the Jews, and the initiation of that policy of whittling down the charter of liberties of the Moors which culminated in the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609-1614, the Catholic Kings completed the territorial reconquest of Spain and assured the triumph of Roman Catholic orthodoxy within their dominions. No less important were their victories over the feudal nobility, the Cortes, and the municipalities by which they laid the foundations for the absolutism of the Hapsburgs and Bourbons. Centralization of political power in the Crown matched the imposition of orthodoxy in matters of conscience, and henceforth the two despotisms, political and spiritual, were identified with Spanish tradition.

But neither the Catholic Kings nor their successors believed that the maintenance of orthodoxy required them to guarantee to the Church all of the privileges it had acquired during the long centuries of the Reconquest. Although ready to recognize the Church as a separate corporation with its own system of organization, law, and courts, with special privileges under the ecclesiastical *fuero* and with rich endowments, the Spanish monarchs were firm in their purpose to assert the preponderance, "or at least the liberty of action,"¹ of the State in dealings with the Church, and to limit those ecclesiastical privileges which threatened the sovereignty of the State in temporal affairs. Politico-ecclesiastical relations were characterized by an increasing

regalism which culminated in the Bourbon absolutism of the eighteenth century.²

The discovery of America created new responsibilities, as well as unlimited opportunities, for the business of governing a vast colonial empire raised problems of the first magnitude. It was inevitable that the principles of absolutism and orthodoxy which the Catholic Kings were making effective in the Old World should be applied in the New. The Indies were regarded as separate realms united with the Crown of Castile in the person of the king, and political organization was based on the Castilian model. Royal control was imposed by means of a separate Council of the Indies, appointed by and responsible to the Crown, which acted as the supreme administrative organism for the colonies, and by local administrative officers and tribunals responsible to King and Council. Even the municipalities which in the beginning represented a certain amount of local self government rapidly lost their democratic character. The manner in which the Crown tried to impose its will in colonial affairs is best illustrated by the mass of legislation on details of government and administration. On the ecclesiastical side, the supremacy of Roman Catholic orthodoxy was secured by the imposition of restrictions on the emigration to America of foreigners, Jews, New Christians, and persons who had been punished by the Inquisition, and by the ultimate establishment of the Holy Office in America with very wide powers of independent jurisdiction. The conversion of the aboriginal population was declared to be the most important aim of colonial enterprise, and the Crown expended large sums on the support of missions, the building of churches, and the endowment of ecclesiastical foundations.

The Spanish monarchs were just as eager, however, to assert a preponderance over the Church in the New World as in the Old. In certain respects it was possible to begin with a clean slate in the New World, especially with regard to ecclesiastical appointments, the erection of dioceses, and

the establishment of ecclesiastical foundations, and the kings took full advantage of the opportunity. Yielding to pressure from the Catholic Kings who urged their services to the faith as arguments for the concessions they desired, the popes issued a series of important bulls which gave the Crown comprehensive powers over the Church in the colonies.

The bulls of Alexander VI, May 4, 1493, gave the Spanish monarchy (1) title over the Indies, with the conditional obligation of carrying on the conversion of the aboriginal population, and (2) all the concessions, privileges, rights, etc., that former popes had conceded to the kings of Portugal in lands discovered beyond the seas, of which the most important was the right of presenting to ecclesiastical office.³ Eight years later, November 16, 1501, the same pope granted to the Crown the right to collect the tithes in the American colonies, with the condition that the Crown should provide revenues for the establishment of churches and missions.⁴ On July 28, 1508, Pope Julius II conceded to the Crown universal patronage over the Church in the Indies.⁵

On the basis of these concessions, which were clarified by later papal decrees, the Crown established an unparalleled control over ecclesiastical organization in America. The tithes were collected by the officials of the royal treasury and expended by them according to instructions from the crown. The consent of civil authority was required for the establishment of every cathedral, parish church, monastic house, hospital, and pious foundation in the Indies. Appointment to all sees and benefices was reserved to the king or his representatives. The establishment and delimitation of dioceses were made by royal authority. The emigration of clergy to the New World was controlled by royal license, and the movements of those who went to the Indies were supervised by the civil officers in the several provinces. The meetings of provincial and diocesan councils and the publication of their decrees were subjected to supervision by the State. Papal bulls and letters directed to the Church in

America were examined and certified by the Council of the Indies. It is not surprising, therefore, that these powers were jealously guarded, that the viceroys and lesser colonial officials were instructed to resist any encroachment on the patronage, or that bishops were required to take an oath not to violate the rights of the Crown under the patronage.

In actual practice the Crown exercised direct power of appointment in the case of archbishops, bishops, and cathedral chapters. The nominations of archbishops and bishops were sent to the Pope who formally installed the appointees in office. Appointment to lesser benefices was made by the viceroys and provincial governors, acting as vice-patrons, from a list of nominations made by the local prelates. The person chosen was then presented to the bishop who installed him in office. The Crown permitted private individuals to endow local ecclesiastical foundations, such as chaplaincies, and to exercise patronage over them, but this form of private patronage was under the strict control of civil authority. Rigid supervision was exercised over the monastic orders, and all prelates, visitors, and guardians elected by the orders were obliged to present their patents of office to the appropriate civil officers. Although the tithes were collected by the officials of the *real hacienda*, the sums collected were expended according to a general scheme ordered by the Crown. It was the usual custom to divide the tithes into four equal parts, of which one was paid to the bishop and one to the cathedral chapter. The remainder was divided into nine parts or *novenos*, of which the Crown retained two and the remaining seven were distributed among the lesser clergy, hospitals, and the general fund of the Church. The *dos novenos*, or king's share, were frequently used for pious purposes. Finally jurisdiction in suits relating to the patronage and the tithes was reserved to the civil tribunals.⁶

But this extraordinary measure of control exercised by the Crown was no guarantee of peaceful relations between

Church and State. In fact, problems of the patronage and tithes often complicated these relations instead of simplifying them. The viceroys and other local officials had constantly to be on guard against the creation of any rights which, in the course of time, the Church might claim to be prescriptive, although royal legislation specifically stated that prescription could in no way alter the character of the patronage. Evasion of the patronage took various forms, such as assumption of the appointing power by bishops and other prelates, or the building of churches and convents without license. Solórzano cites the case of the bishops of Cuba who disregarded royal cédulas forbidding them to appoint the collector-general of the cathedral church.⁷ Occasionally ecclesiastical buildings were actually torn down by royal command as the result of violation of the patronage. The appointment to benefices, the enjoyment of the revenues derived therefrom, and the removal for cause of regularly installed appointees by their prelates were a constant source of controversy involving both the patronage and the canon law. One of the most fruitful sources of embarrassment for the State was the constant need for settling disputes between the secular and regular clergy, especially with regard to the examination of religious appointed to benefices, the supervision of *doctrinas* served by the monastic orders, and the secularization of missions. Suits over secularized missions often dragged on for years and justified the proverb, *si te quieras hazer immortal, hazte pleito eclesiastico*.⁸ The rapid accumulation of property by the Church, by means of private endowment and investments, and the administration of revenues from the same, especially the disposition of *espolios* and the revenues of sees *sede vacante*, created another group of complex and controversial questions. The collection and administration of the tithes raised many issues. What articles of production were subject to the tithes? Were the military and monastic orders exempt from payment? Numerous controversies of a personal character, frequently caused by dis-

agreement concerning precedence at ceremonial functions, engendered bitterness and unduly disturbed the relations of Church and State."

Besides these problems that were created by or directly related to the power of the Crown under the patronage, there were many other conflicts of interest between the two jurisdictions, civil and ecclesiastical. For the sake of convenience, these may be divided into two classes: (1) those which related to the position of the Church as a privileged, corporate institution under the canon law; and (2) those which grew out of disagreement concerning the place of the Indian in the general colonial scheme. It is apparent, of course, that the missionary activities of the Church frequently caused a merging of strict canon law questions with problems related to the administration of the aborigines. Moreover, problems within each class were often complicated by the theory and practice of the patronage.

It was a recognized principle of both Spanish and Indian legislation that the clergy and ecclesiastical property enjoyed certain privileges and immunities. Cases of ecclesiastical discipline and offenses committed by the clergy were normally outside the jurisdiction of lay authority. Ecclesiastical property enjoyed special privileges, such as protection against desecration and immunity from the ordinary jurisdiction of civil officers. The right of asylum was generally recognized. Finally, all lay members of the Church were subject to its jurisdiction in cases ecclesiastical in character. Jurisdiction in ecclesiastical cases belonged to courts presided over by ecclesiastical judges ordinary, such as bishops or their vicars and the prelates of the monastic orders. The intervention of civil authority, except in cases related to the royal patronage, or in cases of open and violent denial of royal authority, was usually unwarranted. On the other hand, for the arrest of laymen and for the execution of sentence on them, the ecclesiastical judges ordinary and their officials were obliged to call in the aid of the secular arm, i.e., of civil authority. Thus

there existed two sets of law, canon and civil, and two sets of courts, ecclesiastical and secular. This dual system of jurisprudence had always been a source of conflict between Church and State, for it had never been administered or applied with full satisfaction to either.

The Crown recognized the privileges, immunities, and jurisdictional powers of the Church in the New World, and tried to maintain a just balance between Church and State in matters of this kind. Civil officers were instructed to aid and protect the clergy, to respect the privileges of ecclesiastical persons and things, to refrain from interfering in the exercise of jurisdiction by ecclesiastical judges, and to lend the aid of the secular arm under the customary conditions. Prelates were charged not to usurp or obstruct the exercise of civil justice. But the execution of these instructions presented many difficult problems. The maintenance of order and the suppression of public scandal were functions of civil authority, but how should the civil officers deal with cases involving persons enjoying the immunities of the ecclesiastical *fuero*? Mere investigation of the conduct of clergy by laymen might be regarded as a violation of ecclesiastical immunity. The normal method of procedure was to call a given case to the attention of the appropriate prelate who would make the necessary investigation and impose discipline. If the prelate who had immediate jurisdiction failed to act, then the case was brought to the attention of a superior prelate. Finally, if such measures were ineffective, the Crown might be informed, or, if the offender was incorrigible, the civil authority could, by proper legal formulae, assume jurisdiction. Expulsion of clergy from the Indies was decreed for certain offences, such as abandonment of the habit of a monastic order, chronic and notorious disturbances in the elections of prelates of the regular clergy, and scandalous, public attacks on civil authority. Discipline of this sort was to be arranged, if possible, by joint action of the two jurisdictions, but the civil officers could act alone if necessary.¹⁰

The right of the Church to protest against injustice and to interpose its influence to obtain a remedy for abuse of authority by civil officers was recognized, but the prelates were instructed to admonish the clergy not to use "scandalous words touching the public and universal government" in the pulpit, and not to preach against the "ministers and officials of our justice." If the civil officers were remiss in their performance of duty, the clergy might admonish them privately.¹¹ The imposition of censures and excommunications on civil officers for ecclesiastical offenses was subject to appeal, and if appeal was denied, the royal aid could be invoked. Copies of all the papers pertaining to the case would then be sent to the audiencia possessing jurisdiction, and pending the decision of the audiencia all censures would be raised.¹² It was also ordered that absolution of civil officers should be granted in a simple and quiet manner without show or elaborate ceremony.¹³

Two special ecclesiastical tribunals exercised a wide range of independent jurisdiction and exerted great influence in colonial affairs. These were the tribunals of the Santa Cruzada and the Holy Office of the Inquisition. The sale of bulls of the Santa Cruzada, or indulgences, was introduced into the colonies at an early date, and in the course of time the revenues therefrom became an important source of income for the Crown. The business of the Cruzada was finally put on a permanent administrative basis by the appointment of a Commissary General Subdelegate for the capital of each audiencia district who was subject to the authority of the Commissary General of the Cruzada in Spain. Each Commissary General Subdelegate was assisted by the senior oidor of the district, a fiscal of the audiencia and an accountant.¹⁴ Together they formed the supreme tribunal for the district. Local business of the Cruzada was in the hands of subdelegates, who had charge of preaching the bulls, and lay treasurers, who received the money resulting from the sale of the indulgences. The net revenues were sent to Spain at convenient intervals. The

district tribunals and the subdelegates possessed jurisdiction over all business of the Cruzada; appeals from the district tribunals went to the Commissary General and Consejo de Cruzada in Spain. The civil courts and the ecclesiastical courts ordinary were forbidden to interfere in such matters.

The activities of the district tribunals, the subdelegates, and the local treasurers caused numerous conflicts of jurisdiction. The sale of the bulls and other business operations of the Cruzada provided opportunities for the abuse of privilege. Treasurers who were tempted to use their authority for personal profit claimed exemption from all civil jurisdiction. Ecclesiastical members of the organization were wont to claim freedom from the authority of their prelates. Although colonial legislation denied these claims for general immunity, the laws were not easily enforced. Moreover, the Cruzada, like all other tribunals with power of independent jurisdiction, sought to extend its influence whenever possible. It tried, for example, to assert control over unclaimed property, especially livestock, and to obtain the management of, or a share in, the goods of persons who died intestate. By special concessions the Cruzada in Spain possessed jurisdiction of this kind, but in the Indies no such concessions were made.

The Holy Office of the Inquisition was the most important ecclesiastical court in the New World.¹⁵ Bishops and prelates of the monastic orders exercised jurisdiction in matters of the faith during the early years of the conquest, but in 1569 the Crown ordered the establishment of tribunals of the Holy Office in Mexico City and Lima. In 1611 a third was set up in Cartagena. These tribunals consisted of a board of inquisitors, attorneys, consultants on theology and canon law, receivers of confiscated property, jailers, and numerous lesser officials, and servants. In provincial capitals and important towns local commissioners were appointed to investigate cases of the faith and arrest offenders when so ordered by the inquisitors. These local agents

had no authority to try cases; the accused parties were sent to the central tribunals for trial.

The jurisdiction of the Inquisition was wide and elastic. Heresy, apostasy, blasphemy, bigamy, the practice of superstition, sorcery and demonology, propositions subversive of the faith, denial of ecclesiastical authority, lack of respect for ecclesiastical persons, institutions, and censures, solicitation in the confessional, evil sounding words,—these were some of the causes for prosecution by the tribunal. No member of the non-aboriginal community was exempt. Spaniards, creoles, negroes, mestizos, mulattos, clergy and laymen, officials and private citizens,—all were subject to its authority. The Indians alone were exempt. In addition to its spiritual jurisdiction in matters of the faith, the Holy Office exercised wide authority of a temporal character. It owned and administered property and exercised temporal jurisdiction over all persons, even lay familiars, who were connected with it in an official capacity. The civil courts were forbidden to interfere in the business of the Inquisition, and appeals from the American tribunals were taken to the Council of the Inquisition (the Suprema) in Spain.

Such a broad range of independent jurisdiction made the Inquisition the most powerful and most feared ecclesiastical tribunal in the New World. It could defy the power of the viceroy, and even the orders of the Crown were frequently disregarded with impunity. In Peru, and to a lesser degree in Mexico, the members of the Holy Office exercised a freedom of action that was not infrequently the cause of public scandal. For the Church the Inquisition was a weapon of great importance in dealing with civil authority, because the broad definition of heresy and related spiritual offenses made it easy to bring charges against officials who resisted the policies of the clergy. Moreover, criticism of the actions of the Holy Office or resistance to its demands could be made cause for action on the ground that the offender was guilty of lack of respect for and opposition to the tribunal as an instrument of orthodoxy. It should not

be forgotten, on the other hand, that sometimes the State found the Inquisition a convenient means for dealing with leaders of rebellion and for the suppression of doctrines contrary to accepted theories of government.

The endless conflicts of jurisdiction caused by the extensive temporal powers of the Holy Office, the boldness with which it used them, and the unjustified manner in which it sometimes imposed censures to enforce its will caused the Crown to intervene in order to define and regulate the relations of the Inquisition to civil authority. But these definitions of jurisdiction, known as *Concordias*, failed to solve the problem. The isolation of the Indies, the delays involved in the transmission of reports to Spain, the necessity of discussing all fundamental problems with the Suprema, which found delay and procrastination an effective means of avoiding an issue, and the ecclesiastical censures and penalties which the Inquisition could impose made it impossible to arrive at any permanent solution of the major problems. Many a viceroy preferred to wink at abuses rather than risk a serious dispute. In the provinces the influence of the local commissaries was all pervading, for even the authority to investigate cases of the faith and denounce offenders to the central tribunals was a most effective instrument of power. Finally, the obligation of every member of the Church, even the most ignorant, to report words and deeds subversive of the faith became a convenient means of giving expression to personal jealousy and passion. A word hastily spoken, expressions of anger or excitement, a joking phrase, neglect in the performance of some minor ceremonial obligation of the Church, and harmless and innocent actions were often noted, misinterpreted or misunderstood, and later denounced to the commissary of the Holy Office. No person who has any acquaintance with the records of any of the great American tribunals can fail to realize the tremendous social and political importance of the Inquisition in the Spanish American colonies. Even the sheer bulk of the fifteen hundred volumes of the Inquisition

archive that is preserved in the Archivo General y Público de la Nación in Mexico City is impressive evidence of the activity of the Mexican tribunal.

The general questions of jurisdiction which have been discussed above were familiar issues for which there were numerous precedents to guide the Spanish monarchs in formulating policy for the Indies. The problem of the aboriginal inhabitants was, however, essentially new, and it provoked a storm of controversy in which was revealed a cleavage of opinion and interest based on the contradictory aims and motives inherent in the colonial scheme. The religious motives of the conquest were implicit in the bulls of donation and later papal concessions, and the Spanish kings wholeheartedly accepted the obligation to foster and promote the general missionary program. But the maintenance of empire, the establishment of colonies of Spanish immigrants, and the exploitation of the resources of the Indies for the benefit of the Crown and the colonists brought into play economic interests opposed to the maximum development of the missions. The conflict of motives caused open rivalry between the clergy and the civil population, and created two sets of vested interests that struggled for supremacy. In their efforts to reconcile the claims of each group, the kings issued a mass of legislation that was inevitably confused and contradictory. The ultimate result of the laws was to reduce the Indians to a status of permanent legal minority, for although the Crown sought to protect the Indians from abuses, it also restricted their freedom of action and limited their social position. The Indians were left serving two masters, the clergy and the Spanish colonists, whose interests were never thoroughly reconciled. The major controversies caused by the conflict between the religious and economic motives of colonization are too well known to require restatement here, but a discussion of certain phases of mission administration will be worthwhile as an introduction to the problems of New Mexico with which this essay is concerned.

The methods of indoctrination were fairly simple. In the beginning a few elements were stressed, such as veneration of the Cross, respect for the clergy, instruction concerning the sacraments, the teaching of a few simple prayers, and regular attendance at religious services. Admission to the sacraments of the Church was granted as soon as the Indians received sufficient instruction. These were the positive phases of missionary labor. The negative phases consisted of measures to prevent the practice of the old pagan ceremonies, to destroy the influence of the native priests and sorcerers, and to combat concubinage and sexual promiscuity. The building of churches and monastic foundations was carried forward as rapidly as possible, and to facilitate the teaching of the Indians in these centers the Indian villages were often consolidated into larger and more conveniently located units. At each mission lands were set aside for the raising of food and the grazing of livestock for the mission clergy.

Sooner or later this missionary program brought the clergy into conflict with either the civil authority or the Spanish colonists. The resettlement of the Indians villages in larger units frequently resulted in a temporary reduction in agricultural production, with a resultant decrease in Indian population, which caused a corresponding reduction in the amount of tribute available for the royal treasury or for the private individuals who held Indians in *encomienda*. At each mission there was a group of Indians employed as servants of the clergy,—sacristans, cooks, porters, etc.,—who were exempt from tribute, and any tendency to increase the number of these servants brought immediate opposition from the beneficiaries of the tributes. The expanding economic interests of the colonists, the formation of haciendas, and the rapid development of stock raising led to inevitable encroachments on the lands of the Indian villages. The clergy were quick to denounce any infringement on Indian rights, but the colonists found it difficult to accept criticism of this sort when they saw Indian lands under cultivation

for the benefit of the mission and the large herds of livestock belonging to the clergy grazing on the Indian ranges. Likewise, the employment of Indian labor was a constant source of controversy, for although the system of personal service, or forced labor for pay, was characterized by abuses, it was customary to answer the charges of mistreatment by counter charges that the clergy employed a large number of Indians in the building and maintenance of churches and convents that were far more sumptuous than the simple needs of indoctrination required. Finally, the frequent accusations made by the clergy that the Spaniards were guilty of acts of cruelty and demoralizing social conduct in their ordinary relations with the Indians were countered by an increasing number of complaints concerning the harsh discipline enforced by the clergy on their wards and the moral laxness of an unfortunately large number of the mission priests.

The civil authorities were charged with the difficult task of aiding the missions in every possible way, promoting the economic development of the country, and acting as umpire between the conflicting interests. It was a task for which few local officials had sufficient administrative ability and integrity of character. The conscientious administrator, anxious to promote the general welfare of the Indian population and root out abuses, found himself face to face with essentially irreconcilable interests and soon discovered that the role of benevolent umpire usually aroused criticism and denunciation from both groups. Moreover, his position was not made any easier by certain provisions of colonial legislation enacted for the protection of the Indians which in practice often caused misunderstandings and serious controversy. For example, the civil authorities were instructed not to permit the clergy to molest the Indians by requiring an excessive amount of service,¹⁶ but investigation of the conduct of the missions or limitations placed on the number of Indians to be used as mission servants were usually regarded as failure to co-operate in the work of in-

doctrination. Likewise local officials were charged not to permit the clergy to imprison or detain the Indians, to flog them, or to impose other harsh penalties on them for infractions of mission discipline, except under certain conditions.¹⁷ The mission clergy were likely to complain that strict enforcement of such regulations demoralized mission discipline. Moreover, the intervention of civil authority might easily be denounced as unwarranted interference with or denial of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and immunity. Finally, the laws which gave the church authority over the Indians in ordinary ecclesiastical offenses, but reserved cases of sorcerers (*hechiceros*) to civil justice frequently caused misunderstandings.¹⁸

Officials who followed a course of strict justice were few. Most of them were interested only in their own profit, and found that personal gain was best advanced by joining with the colonists in a conscious policy of exploitation. Against such abuse of authority, the clergy was loud in denunciation and often effective in action. Their economic resources, the power of ecclesiastical censure, including the dread authority of the Inquisition, brought more than one provincial governor to ruin.

Conflict between Church and State characterized the administration of every province of the Spanish empire in America. In New Mexico it was the most important phase of political history during the seventeenth century. No other question troubled the political life of the community to the same degree or with the same persistence. It was a problem which involved practically all of the provincial governors and most of the leaders of the clergy.

There were fundamental reasons why the question of Church and State was so significant a factor in New Mexican history during this period. Failure to discover in New Mexico rich mines or other notable sources of revenue doomed the province to a rather miserable existence. Success in conversion of the Indian had saved New Mexico from possible abandonment, so that the province became pri-

marily a mission area, and it is not surprising that the clergy acquired a position and influence of paramount importance. There was present in all their writings a self-consciousness born of the fact that the province was essentially a mission field, and that the most important duty of the laymen was to aid and protect the missions. Thus the friars were over-zealous in defense of their privileges, and they assumed an attitude of authority which the civilians resented. It irritated the governors, who were usually restless men and impatient under the restraining hands of the clergy, to be reminded of the fact that one of their important duties—perhaps the most important—was the defense and protection of the missions. They also resented many actions of the clergy which they regarded as unwarranted interference in affairs political in character. Moreover, the distance which separated New Mexico from New Spain made easy, if not inevitable, the persistence of many evils which might otherwise have been remedied. Realizing that, in the main, the situation was one which they were obliged to solve for themselves, both the governors and the prelates assumed an unyielding attitude.

For a clear understanding of certain phases of local Church and State relations, it is necessary to emphasize a few facts concerning the organization of the Church in New Mexico. First, all of the clergy were members of the Order of Friars Minor. Consequently the Church was not weakened by rivalry between various monastic orders or by quarrels between secular and regular clergy. Second, no bishop exercised effective jurisdiction in New Mexico prior to 1680. Ordinary ecclesiastical jurisdiction in all cases affecting the friars, Indians, and Spanish colonists was exercised by the prelate of the Franciscans under authority granted by the bull *Exponi nobis* of Adrian VI, May 10, 1522, which gave the prelates of monastic orders the right to exercise quasi-episcopal power in areas where there were no bishops.¹⁹ Moreover, the power of the prelate was frequently increased by appointments under the Inquisition or

the Santa Cruzada. Thus ecclesiastical authority was concentrated to a remarkable degree, and this fact gave the Church a great advantage in dealing with the civil officers of the province. Finally, the combined economic resources of the Franciscans were sometimes greater than those of the colonists.

The character of political administration in New Mexico during the seventeenth century contributed much to the friction between the two jurisdictions. The governors violated the laws forbidding them to engage in trade; they exploited the Indians to the limit; they organized slave raids against the nomadic tribes of the plains,—in short, they sought every means to enrich themselves at the expense of the province. Many were violent in action and speech, and guilty of open immorality. Few of them seem to have been inspired by any deep sense of obligation to the Church and the missions. Peñalosa, the most notorious of all, was a mere adventurer who, in the end, tried to betray the interests of his country. The lesser provincial officials, the *alcaldes* and *regidores* of Santa Fé and the *alcaldes mayores* of the rural districts, were frequently mere servants and tools of their unscrupulous superiors.

The history of the conflict between Church and State in New Mexico in the seventeenth century may be divided into two periods. The first extends from 1610 to 1650, during which the friction between the clergy and the civil authorities became progressively worse until it nearly resulted in civil war. During this period the Inquisition played a minor rôle. The second period covers the years from 1659 to 1664, during which the Inquisition was a most effective instrument of ecclesiastical policy. Governor Mendizábal and his wife, Governor Peñalosa, four soldiers of the province, and Friar Juan Ramírez, ex-custodian of missions, were all tried by the tribunal of the Holy Office in Mexico City as the result of bitter disagreement with the clergy on various phases of mission doctrine and ecclesiastical practice. The first period will be described in the

present study. The second will be covered in a separate series of articles.

NOTES

1. R. Altamira, *Historia de España* (3^a ed., Barcelona, 1913), § 590.
2. For brief summaries of politico-ecclesiastical relations in Spain from the late fifteenth century to the end of the eighteenth, consult Altamira, *op. cit.*, §§ 576, 584, 590, 688, 715-719, 813-821.
3. For the text of these bulls, see F. J. Hernández, *Colección de bulas, breves, y otros documentos relativos a la iglesia de América y Filipinas* (Brussels, 1879), I, 12-16.
4. *Ibid.*, I, 20, 21.
5. *Ibid.*, I, 24, 25.
6. For detailed treatises on the patronage and related problems, consult: Juan de Solórzano y Pereyra, *Política Indiana* (various editions), lib. iv; P. Frasso, *De regio patronatu Indiarum* (Madrid, 1775); A. J. de Ribadeneyra y Barrientos, *Manual compendio de el regio patronato Indiano* (Madrid, 1755); P. J. Parras, *Gobierno de los regulares de América* (Madrid, 1783); Diego de Avendaño, *Thesaurus Indicus* (Antwerp, 1668); A. J. Álvarez de Abreu, *Víctima legal real* (2a ed., Madrid, 1769); Alonso de la Peña Montenegro, *Itinerario para párrocos de Indias* (nueva ed., Madrid, 1771). For briefer discussions: L. Ayarragaray, *La iglesia en América y la dominación española* (Buenos Aires, 1920); L. E. Fisher, *Viceregal administration in the Spanish American colonies* (Berkeley, 1926), 182-250; J. L. Mecham, *Church and State in Latin America* (Chapel Hill, 1934), ch. I. For the legislation consult: [Diego de Encinas] *Provisiones, cédulas, capitulos de ordenanzas . . . tocantes al buen gobierno de las Indias* (Madrid, 1596); *Recopilación de leyes de las Indias* (various editions).
7. *Política Indiana*, lib. iv, cap. iii; *Recopilación*, lib. i, tit. vi, ley xxii
8. Solórzano, lib. iv, cap. ix.
9. Cases illustrating these general problems may be found in the history of all the important Spanish colonies in America. Fisher, *loc. cit.*, describes a number of examples. The legal questions are discussed in Solórzano, lib. iv.
10. Solórzano, lib. iv, caps. vii, viii, ix, xxvi, xxvii; *Recopilación*, lib. i, tit. vii, ley liv, tit. x, leyes i, ii, xi-xiii, tit. xii, ley xix, tit. xiv, leyes lxxiii, lxxxiv, lxxxv, lxxxvi.
11. *Recopilación*, lib. i, tit. xii, ley xix.
12. *Ibid.*, lib. i, tit. x, ley x.
13. *Ibid.*, lib. i, tit. vii, ley xviii.
14. The organization of the Cruzada as a *ramo* of the *real hacienda* in New Spain is described in F. de Fonseca y D. de Urrutia, *Historia general de real hacienda* (Mexico, 1850), III, 263-337. For the legislation, see Encinas, I, 234-237, and *Recopilación*, lib. i, tit. xx.
15. The history and organization of the Holy Office in America is described in H. C. Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish dependencies* (New York, 1908), 191-516; J. T. Medina, *Historia del tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Lima* (Santiago de Chile, 1887); —, *Historia del tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Cartagena de las Indias* (Santiago de Chile, 1899); —, *El tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en las provincias del Plata* (Santiago de Chile, 1899); —, *Historia del tribunal del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en México* (Santiago de Chile, 1905); Solórzano, lib. iv, cap. xxiv; *Recopilación* lib. i, tit. xix.
16. *Recopilación*, lib. i, tit. xiii, ley xi.
17. *Ibid.*, lib. i, tit. xii, ley vi.
18. *Ibid.*, lib. vi, tit. i, ley xxxv.
19. For the text of this bull, see Hernández, *op. cit.*, I, 382-389.

CHAPTER II
ESTABLISHING AN EVIL TRADITION
1610-1618

I

THE first major incident in the long history of troubled relations between Church and State in New Mexico occurred during the administration of Governor Pedro de Peralta (1610-1614). Peralta took office at a very critical time in the history of the province. For nearly a decade following the establishment of the first settlement in 1598, Juan de Oñate, founder and first governor, had struggled in vain to put the colony on a sound and permanent basis. The failure to discover rich mines, the limited agricultural resources of the country, the sorry consequences of the exploitation and maltreatment of the Indians, and the arbitrary character of certain phases of Oñate's administration had brought bitter disillusionment to the colonists, many of whom had invested their entire fortune in the venture. In 1601, while Oñate was absent on the exploring expedition to Quivira, many of the soldiers who had remained behind in the provincial headquarters at San Gabriel deserted. With them went most of the Franciscan friars. The desertion of the colony punctured the New Mexico bubble. Neither the glowing account of the Quivira expedition which Vicente de Zaldívar brought to New Spain in the winter of 1601-1602 nor the reports of the discovery of the head waters of the Gulf of California in 1604-1605 could restore the reputation of New Mexico and its founder. The viceroy and his advisers realized at last the true character of the New Mexico colony, and they refused Oñate's appeals for a large force of soldiers and for adequate supplies with which he hoped to follow up these discoveries. In 1607 Oñate tendered his resignation and at the same time served notice that unless sufficient aid were granted fairly soon the colonists who had remained loyal to him would be forced to abandon the prov-

ince. For several months the advisability of a complete withdrawal of the colony was discussed by the viceregal authorities and the Council of the Indies. During the winter of 1608-1609 Friar Lázaro Ximénez and Friar Isidro Ordóñez arrived in Mexico City with the news that the religious had at last been able to make considerable progress in the conversion and indoctrination of the Indians, and on the basis of this report Viceroy Velasco decided to maintain the province as a mission area. Supplies of all kinds were provided for the aid of the colonists; eight additional friars, including a new prelate, Friar Alonso Peinado, were sent to the missions; and a new governor, Pedro de Peralta, was appointed with full instructions for the reorganization of provincial administration.¹

Peralta arrived in New Mexico during the winter of 1609-1610. The first duty imposed by his instructions was the establishment of a new villa to take the place of San Gabriel as provincial headquarters. The new settlement, called the Villa de Santa Fé, was founded during the spring of 1610, and the population of San Gabriel was moved to the new capital as soon as buildings could be erected. The instructions contained full details concerning the organization of the government of this new villa. The second obligation of the new governor was the reorganization of defense. Oñate had reduced the Pueblos to submission by the drastic punishment of Acoma in 1599 and by firmness in dealing with the Jumanos on the eastern frontier, but numerous complaints had been received concerning his failure to deal in an appropriate manner with the Apaches and Navahos. Consequently Peralta's instructions contained detailed suggestions concerning relations with the Apaches and the proper measures for defending the pueblos from attack by these marauders. There were to be no more expeditions to the frontiers until the already occupied area had been placed on a sound basis; the Pueblos were to be concentrated into fewer and larger villages, as a means of assisting the missionary program and to enable them the better to with-

stand attack by the Apaches; and future *entradas* to unconverted Indians were to be made only by the friars. The instructions also contained provisions concerning the granting of encomiendas, the maintenance of a minimum number of Spanish colonists, and instruction of the Indians in the Spanish language.²

Reorganization of the non-aboriginal colony and the adoption of adequate measures for defense laid the foundations for an expanding missionary program. During the Oñate period missions had been established among the Tewa pueblos, and attempts had been made from time to time to indoctrinate the Indians of other villages. Several thousand converts were reported in 1608. But the permanence of the mission program was not assured until after the arrival of Friar Alonso Peinado with reinforcements and supplies in the winter of 1609-1610. Friar Peinado was a saintly person thoroughly devoted to the task of saving souls, and under his inspiring leadership as prelate notable progress was made. A convent and church were built in Santa Fé to minister to the colonists and the Indian families settled there. The area of evangelization was gradually enlarged to take in the Keres villages, especially Santo Domingo which became the ecclesiastical capital of the province, the Tanos, and the Río Grande Tiwas. In 1611 Friar Isidro Ordóñez was sent to New Spain to seek further aid for the missions. The viceroy authorized the purchase of large quantities of supplies for the clergy already serving in New Mexico and for a group of new friar-recruits furnished by the Franciscan Order. The supply caravan consisting of twenty wagons, military escort, clergy, servants, etc., departed from Zacatecas toward the end of May, 1612, and arrived at Sandía, the southernmost of the missions on August 26.³ During the succeeding twelve months the mission area was extended to include the Manzano Tiwas on the eastern frontier and the pueblo of Isleta on the south.⁴

Thus the work of indoctrination was proceeding rapidly when a bitter controversy occurred in 1613-1614

between Governor Peralta and Friar Isidro Ordóñez, which caused a slowing down of the mission program and created a feeling of bitterness between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities that was never forgotten.

II

The history of this controversy must be based almost entirely upon a single source written as a *pièce justificatif* by Friar Francisco Pérez Guerta, one of the missionaries who accompanied Ordóñez in 1612. Friar Pérez Guerta was a member of a group of friars who later became highly dissatisfied with Ordóñez' conduct, and for his own personal opposition to some of Ordóñez' actions he was harshly punished. His *Relación Verdadera*^{*} is, therefore, a biased and circumstantial account of what took place. But it is quite apparent that Ordóñez was ambitious for power and that he was inspired by unnecessary zeal as prelate of the clergy. It is also possible that he resorted to fraud in order to gain his ends. With many members of his own order he was not able to maintain friendly relations; with the civil authorities he was uncompromising and exceedingly tactless. His aim seems to have been completely to submit civil authority in New Mexico to the influence of the Church.

Lack of harmony between Ordóñez and a group of the friars was present from the beginning. During the journey northward a certain amount of bitterness was engendered, partly because the new friar-recruits felt that Ordóñez had not made proper provision for the journey, and partly because Ordóñez was harsh and outspoken in his attitude toward them. There was some discussion among the newcomers about turning back, and one lay-brother actually deserted the caravan. But Ordóñez quieted these complaints, and the others continued the journey to New Mexico, where, as Pérez Guerta said, "God had greater labors for them."^{*} When the group arrived at Sandía Ordóñez presented a letter in which the Commissary General removed Peinado from the prelacy "and ordered him to obey the said

P. Fr. Isidro Ordóñez." This letter may have been forged, but Friar Alonso Peinado, who had been commissary since 1609-1610, accepted it as genuine and immediately turned over the government of the missions to Ordóñez.⁷ At Santo Domingo a few days later Ordóñez held a chapter meeting in which mission assignments were made, and several of the recently arrived friars were disgruntled because they were named off as subordinates to other friars instead of receiving independent mission assignments.⁸ There was also a measure of dissatisfaction regarding Ordóñez' disposition of the mission supplies and his division of the same among the several convents and churches.⁹ Moreover, Ordóñez aroused considerable feeling by his treatment of individual friars. He treated Friar Alonso Peinado so shabbily that Peinado finally decided to "banish himself" by undertaking the conversion and baptism of the Indians of Chililí, one of the Tiwa pueblos on the eastern frontier. Friar Luis Tirado, a new arrival who was assigned to the Santa Fé convent, was so aroused by Ordóñez' actions that he called a meeting of some of his associates in which it was voted that they should return to New Spain; but "God Our Lord ordered otherwise."¹⁰ Apparently Tirado was soon appeased, however, for he later became the chief aid of Ordóñez in the latter's quarrel with Governor Peralta.

Relations between Peralta and Ordóñez were apparently none too cordial even during the period prior to 1612, and it was reported that when Peralta heard that Ordóñez was returning as prelate he remarked, "Would to God the Devil were coming instead of that Friar."¹¹ Soon after his arrival in New Mexico in 1612 Ordóñez presented a *real provisión* (a vice-regal decree issued in the name of the king) ordering Peralta to permit all those soldiers and colonists who might wish to do so to leave the province and return to New Spain. This was a matter of considerable importance, for the number of colonists was so small that the departure of even a few might seriously weaken the defense of the province. Was the *real provisión* another of

Ordóñez' forgeries? Pérez Guerta declared that it was; evidence of another sort indicates that it may have been genuine.¹² Forged or not, it was a grave threat to the security of the province, and Peralta urged Ordóñez not to present it. Ordóñez was adamant, however, and in the end Peralta had to accept the order and give license to depart to all who desired to do so. Peralta tried to induce some of them to stay by offering them grants of *encomienda*, but they refused to remain even on such terms. If the *real provisión* was a forgery, Ordóñez must be held responsible for a policy which not only weakened the colony, but also seriously hindered the progress of the missions by reducing the number of soldiers available for protection of friars who wished to preach in outlying pueblos.¹³

Another cause of friction was the old, old problem of personal service. The labor of the Indians was absolutely essential for the building projects in the new Villa de Santa Fé, and on the governor's orders Indians were summoned in relays from the several pueblos. Some of the pueblos were at a considerable distance from Santa Fé, and the journey to and from the villa was arduous. The Indians were given only the most meager rations of food—mostly toasted maize—and in many instances they received none at all. Ordóñez interposed his influence in behalf of the Indians by writing letters to the mission friars and by direct representations to the governor, but Peralta received his suggestions with poor grace. Perhaps, as Pérez Guerta remarked, "the governor was not greatly devoted to us and any little thing that touched his jurisdiction was sufficient to dissipate his patience."¹⁴ Peralta did his best, however, to moderate the abuses and to set a good example by supplying food to the Indians who were working for him. Some of the Spaniards did the same, but "because of the poverty of the land all of them could not give the Indians food . . ."¹⁵ Apparently the colonists were still dependent on the maize collected from the Indians as tribute, and it was within the governor's authority to divide up supplies collected from those

pueblos not granted in encomienda. "And on this point there were disagreements."¹⁶ "Finally," to quote Pérez Guerta again, "certain actions (*atrebimientos*) of the soldiers gave the Father Commissary occasion to declare himself against the governor, although this might have been excused and softened down with a little reason."¹⁷

Thus relations between "the heads" were strained,¹⁸ when, in the summer of 1613, an incident occurred which led directly to a violent outbreak. Early in May, 1613, Peralta sent a detachment of soldiers to the pueblo of Taos to collect the tributes. Within a few days they returned with a report that the Indians of Taos were in revolt and refused to pay what was due. Ordóñez and the Father Guardian of Santa Fé, Friar Luis Tirado, were greatly agitated by this news, and they urged the governor to use stern measures in dealing with the situation.¹⁹ Peralta calmed their fears and decided to send two Indian traders to Taos as spies. Before these were actually sent messages were received from Taos explaining that when the soldiers had arrived to make the collection of tribute some of the Indians had been absent and that the others had not dared to make the payment during their absence. The mantas were now ready and the governor should send for them. Peralta decided to send another collecting party at once, lest the Indians regard any delay as a sign of anger on his part. On Friday, May 24, two captains and six companions left Santa Fé on this errand.

Meantime the Father Commissary had gone to the Tewa area on a tour of inspection. At Nambé on his journey back to Santo Domingo he met a member of the detachment going to Taos. After questioning the soldier concerning the nature of his mission, he gave orders that the entire group should return at once to Santa Fé in order that they might celebrate the Feast of Pentecost (May 26) in proper fashion.²⁰

When the soldiers returned to the villa Peralta ordered them to resume the journey because he deemed it very important to collect the tribute without delay, but he also

instructed them to hear mass on the day of Pentecost at one of the northern pueblos, such as San Ildefonso or San Juan. Ordóñez had also returned to Santa Fé and when he learned that the governor had ordered the soldiers once more to proceed to Taos, he sent his notary to the Casa Real to make a formal demand, as follows:

I, Friar Isidro Ordóñez, Apostolic Commissary and Judge Ordinary, by the (authority of) Sr. Lic. Bernardo Gutierrez de Quiros, chief Inquisitor of New Spain, order the governor, Don Pedro de Peralta, under pain of major excommunication *late sententie ipso facto incurrendo* to recall the soldiers who are going to Taos within two hours and to have them appear before me for investigations of matters pertaining to the Holy Office.²¹

The governor very properly replied that he had not understood that Ordóñez had brought any commission from the Holy Office; that as chief civil officer of the province he should have been notified in a formal manner; and that if the commissary would present the patent of appointment he would obey it with all haste.²² "The commissary was not pleased by this reply," and before the two hours had expired he pronounced Peralta excommunicate and posted the formal declaration of public excommunication on the door of Santa Fé church. The same day he gave Friar Luís Tirado, the Father-Guardian of the Villa, instructions concerning the form to be followed in case Peralta came to seek absolution,—

If the governor wishes to be absolved, he shall pay fifty pesos fine in the manner I may wish to apply them. At the door of the church let him be absolved with the Psalm *De miserere* in conformance with the Manual. Later let him be taken into the church where he shall swear to be obedient, and there, barefoot and a candle in his hand, in the presence of all the people let him hear mass.²³

The following day during the mass of the Eve of Pentecost Father Tirado publicly declared that any person who might speak to the governor or uncover in his presence would also incur the pain of excommunication.²⁴

During the months preceding this incident Tirado had been on friendly terms with Peralta,²⁶ and he appears to have been anxious to arrange for the absolution in a manner that would not hurt Peralta's pride and dignity. He secretly informed the governor that Ordóñez had left for Santo Domingo, and urged that the absolution should not be delayed until Ordóñez returned, otherwise "things would not take place with the equity and secrecy that he offered." He stated that he would receive the governor before the dawn on the following day and have the mass of penance said in the presence of only three or four of the governor's friends. But Peralta felt that the excommunication was not justified and he refused to accept absolution in this form.²⁸

There followed several weeks of wrangling during which both sides adopted a stiff-necked attitude. Father Tirado abandoned his attitude of personal friendship, and henceforth he was an efficient instrument of Ordóñez' policy. Peralta was convinced of the injustice of the whole proceedings,²⁷ and tried to obtain statements in legal form concerning what had taken place. He demanded a copy of the terms of absolution, but Tirado refused to give it. Peralta then summoned Alférez Asencio de Archuleta, a layman who was serving as ecclesiastical notary and requested a written statement concerning Tirado's order that no citizen should speak to him under pain of excommunication. When Archuleta refused this request, Peralta ordered him arrested. Tirado met this challenge by issuing a second decree of excommunication against the governor.

Both sides also proceeded to make justificatory investigations. Tirado and Ordóñez summoned witnesses in the name of the Inquisition, and Pérez Guerta, who served as notary, stated that they conducted the questioning of these witnesses in a partial and partisan manner.²⁸ The governor proceeded to investigate the source of rumors that he had made a disrespectful remark concerning the Feast of Pentecost,²⁹ but his inquiries were soon interrupted when Tirado ordered the person who was acting as Peralta's notary, Juan

Donayre de las Misas, not to serve in such a capacity. Donayre took this command seriously, and when he refused to act as notary Peralta had him arrested. Finding that this failed to move him, Peralta sentenced him to the garrote. Thoroughly aroused by this action, Tirado summoned the cabildo and citizens and ordered them to demand Donayre's immediate release. Failing in this, they were forcibly to free him and kill the governor. "And he told them that if they did not dare to do it, he, the said Father Guardian, would sally forth (with the aid of) his brothers to do the releasing and killing, and failing this he would consume the host and go to the convent of Santo Domingo where the Father Commissary was and see to it that no friar went to the Villa."³⁰

Alarmed by this outburst of passion, the cabildo begged Peralta to release Donayre in order to avoid possible tragedy. Peralta heeded their request, but took pains to declare that in releasing the prisoner he was moved more by the fear of "some disaster" than by their pleas. Having scored a victory on this issue, Tirado then demanded the freedom of Archuleta, the ecclesiastical notary, on the ground that he was exempt from civil jurisdiction. Peralta refused to admit that Archuleta enjoyed ecclesiastical immunity, and for several days governor and friar exchanged legal petitions and uncomplimentary epithets and threats.³¹

On June 11 the Father Commissary returned to Santa Fé. Peralta once more sought absolution but refused to submit to the terms previously imposed. Third parties now tried to mediate between governor and prelate, but at first they were unsuccessful. On one occasion during the negotiations Ordóñez threatened to bring the friars to Santa Fé and seize the governor. In the end, however, certain friends of the prelate arranged a compromise which omitted the public mass of penance. But before Ordóñez would proceed with the formula of absolution, he demanded that Peralta should hand over all the papers and records of the investigations he had made. After considerable haggling, Peralta

sent for the documents, but instead of handing them over to the Commissary, he tore them up in the presence of witnesses.³²

The peace that was thus effected was merely temporary, for both the governor and the Father Commissary had been too deeply aroused to resume wholly friendly relations. Peralta had been cut to the quick by the actions of Tirado, and the threat to arrest him had made him suspicious of every move made by the clergy. And Ordóñez appears to have regarded the settlement as merely a truce, pending the discovery of an issue which would justify more direct action.

Toward the end of June certain citizens who were about to depart for the country to round up and brand some cattle asked Peralta to appoint one of the *alcaldes ordinarios* to accompany them as a mediator, because these round-ups were accustomed to degenerate into quarrels. Peralta chose Don Juan Escarramad for this thankless task. During the round-up Escarramad and a citizen named Simón Pérez engaged in some sort of dispute. Swords were drawn and Escarramad received a serious wound. He immediately sought redress, but Pérez, aided by friends and relatives, fled to the sanctuary of the Santa Fé convent. Although Peralta took pains not to violate the right of asylum, he issued a formal summons against Pérez and, pending investigation of the case, ordered the persons who had aided Pérez confined to their homes. By this act Peralta aroused the hostility of a group of important citizens, for Pérez' associates were Capt. Alonso Baca, Capt. Alonso Barela, Alférez Pedro Barela, Capt. Jerónimo Márquez, and others who belonged to families who had served in the conquest and were leaders in the colony. Fearing punishment at the hands of the governor, they appealed to Ordóñez for protection.³³

About the same time that these events were taking place, Peralta authorized a levy of Indian laborers from the pueblo of San Lázaro. The guardian of San Lázaro, Friar

Andrés Perguer, wrote to Ordóñez to inquire whether he should permit the Indians to leave. In his reply Ordóñez urged Perguer to inform the governor that the Indians should be summoned from more distant pueblos which were not called upon for service so often as those of San Lázaro. Moreover, Perguer should insist that the governor "leave off afflicting the miserable soldiers and citizens of the villa with pleas . . . and that the more he tries to afflict and incriminate them and shed their blood, the more trouble will rain down on him." "I believe," Ordóñez added, "that I must go to the villa this week for I imagine that this man must once more be put in a position from which he cannot escape . . . (for) according to what I am told, I believe that I must do (now) what I did not do in the past affair." Friar Perguer added a few lines to the commissary's letter and sent it on to the governor.⁸⁴

This was on July 5. The next day Ordóñez went to Santa Fé where he soon forced a crisis. His first act was to notify the governor that he desired an escort in order to go to New Spain to make a report concerning "serious matters" to the viceroy, audiencia, and Inquisition. Peralta replied that he would grant him the necessary soldiers, and added that he, the governor, might accompany the soldiers, "in order that your Fathership may be better protected and served." Smarting from the sting in this reply, the prelate lost no time in paying Peralta back in kind. On Sunday, July 7, when the governor's chair had been put in its usual place in preparation for mass, Father Tirado had it thrown out into the street. "Seeing this, the governor ordered the chair, which he found outside the church, placed inside the door near the baptismal font, and there among the Indians he sat down, the others, captains, alcaldes and cabildo, being seated near the high altar." After the gospel the ecclesiastical notary, Alférez Asencio de Archuleta, who had probably been released at the time of Peralta's absolution, read an edict to the effect that excommunication and a heavy fine would be imposed on any person who might send dis-

patches to Mexico, or even carry them, without first giving notice to the Father Commissary. This announcement was followed by an impassioned speech by Ordóñez, in the course of which he said:

Do not be deceived. Let no one persuade with vain words that I do not have the same power and authority that the Pope in Rome has, or that if his Holiness were (here) in New Mexico he could do more than I. Believe (ye) that I can arrest, cast into irons, and punish as seems fitting to me any person without any exception who is not obedient to the commandments of the Church and mine. What I have told you, I say for the benefit of a certain person who is listening to me who perhaps raises his eyebrows. May God grant that affairs may not come to this extremity.⁸⁵

Pérez Guerta remarked that if the citizens were scandalized by the removal of the governor's chair, the prelate's speech made an even greater impression.⁸⁶

On the following day (July 8) Peralta sent Ordóñez a formal notification (*auto*) to be ready to leave for New Spain on August 1, "but the Father Commissary sent away the secretary and did not wish to hear the *auto*."⁸⁷ The same day Ordóñez informed Peralta that he desired the services of three soldiers, whom he had appointed as *sindic*, *fiscal*, and notary of the Church, for certain ecclesiastical business. In particular, he desired the *sindic*—it should be noted that he was none other than Capt. Alonso Baca—to begin collecting the tithes. Peralta refused to grant his request on the ground that the three men were soldiers in the service of the king, and that, as for the *sindic*, there were no tithes to be collected. When he heard the governor's answer Ordóñez flew into a rage, denounced his opponent as a Lutheran, a heretic and a Jew, and threatened to arrest him and send him off to Mexico.⁸⁸

The next morning (July 9) Peralta was informed, on what seemed good authority, that the prelate planned his arrest. Summoning the citizens, he informed them of the

prelate's intention, which, in view of the letter to Friar Perguer and the speech of Ordóñez on the preceding Sunday, now seemed clear enough. Accompanied by the soldiers, he then proceeded to the convent. Pérez Guerta's description of what took place at the convent is a striking commentary on the bitter passion that the events of the preceding six weeks had aroused. Invoking the authority of the Crown, Peralta ordered the Father Commissary to return immediately to Santo Domingo. A shocking scene ensued during which the governor's pistol was fired, wounding the lay-brother, Friar Jerónimo de Pedraza, and the armorer, Gaspar Pérez. The prelate immediately declared his adversary excommunicate. The soldiers who had been present were summoned and absolved, except for Gaspar Pérez who blamed Ordóñez for the whole affair. The same day the Host was consumed and the church closed. The friars then set out for Santo Domingo where a meeting of all the clergy was called to discuss future policy.³⁹

To the assembled friars Ordóñez presented his version of the incident and proposed that they should return to Santa Fé to force the governor's arrest. Father Peinado urged caution and delay, but the impassioned arguments of Ordóñez prevailed.⁴⁰ On July 13 the prelate and several of his associates returned once more to the villa, where the following day they summoned the cabildo and demanded the immediate imprisonment of the governor. The cabildo refused to assume such a grave responsibility. The prelate then decided to appeal to the viceroy. On July 23 a friar and four soldiers were sent to New Spain with a message describing the general situation and asking the viceroy's authorization to arrest the governor. Peralta sent the *alcalde ordinario*, Juan Ruiz de Cáceres, to stop them, but inasmuch as Ordóñez had induced the said *alcalde* and some of the *regidores* to sign the letter of appeal and complaint, it is not surprising that the messengers were permitted to get away. When they arrived in Mexico City they were severely reprimanded by the viceroy for having departed from New

Mexico without license from Governor Peralta. Investigation of the situation in New Mexico was intrusted to Bernardino de Ceballos, whom the viceroy had recently appointed to succeed Peralta as governor of the province. But long before Ceballos arrived in New Mexico Father Ordóñez had exacted vengeance.⁴¹

Peralta was not willing that the Father Commissary's version of New Mexican affairs should go unchallenged in the court of the viceroy, but it was difficult to find messengers who were ready to incur the pain of excommunication which Ordóñez had decreed against persons who might dare to carry despatches without his consent. The governor decided, therefore, to be his own messenger. Ordóñez was determined, however, to prevent Peralta's departure. To this end he sought to create an anti-Peralta faction among the soldiers and civil population which would not only assume the responsibility for any use of force, but make it possible to proclaim that any action taken was done in the name of civil authority. By skillful argument and sweeping promises he won over several soldiers, notably Alonso Barela, Capt. Alonso Baca, and Capt. Jerónimo Márquez who had been involved in the Simón Pérez affair, and the second *alcalde ordinario* of Santa Fé, Juan Ruíz de Cáceres. With these men as a nucleus a considerable faction was formed under the prelate's leadership with headquarters in the convent of Santo Domingo.⁴²

A double-dealer in the group professing loyalty to Peralta kept Ordóñez informed concerning all movements in Santa Fé. On August 10 Ordóñez received word that the governor had set out on his journey southward. The prelate immediately sent a summons to the clergy to come with arms to Santo Domingo. "(Certain) friars came, but (other) friars excused themselves." After midnight, August 11, Ordóñez and his party left for Sandía and there passed on to Isleta to await the governor. At Isleta the prelate induced many of his soldier associates to sign a statement justifying the seizure of the governor. According to Pérez

Guerta this document was dated at Santa Fé, August 12, although it was really written at Isleta. Pérez Guerta also stated that it contained the forged signatures of citizens who were actually in Santa Fé at the time.⁴⁸ During the night of August 12-13 Ordóñez surprised the governor's camp and arrested Peralta in the name of the Inquisition. The convent of Sandía was selected to serve as a jail, although the guardian, Friar Estéban de Perea, disliked the duty and responsibility thus thrust upon him. There Peralta was held in chains under guard of three soldiers and several Indians of the pueblo. The first alcalde ordinario, Juan de Escarramad, a loyal member of the governor's faction who had accompanied Peralta from Santa Fé, was also arrested and held a prisoner in Santo Domingo for two months.⁴⁹

For nine months during which Peralta was held a prisoner Father Ordóñez was the unquestioned master of New Mexico. One of his first acts was to proceed to Santa Fé where he seized the governor's private papers. To quiet the fears of the citizens he preached a violent sermon in which he asserted that he expected a great reward for his actions and that those who had helped him arrest the governor could expect no less. To justify his actions and stir up resentment against Peralta, he had Friar Jerónimo de Pedraza, the lay-brother who had been wounded during the affair of July 9, carry from house to house a letter which had been found among the governor's papers in which Peralta called the citizens half-breeds.⁵⁰ Inquiry was made concerning the July 9 incident; ecclesiastical censures were freely used; and inquisitorial process was started against persons known to favor the governor. "Excommunications were rained down . . . and because of the terrors that walked abroad the people were not only scandalized but afraid . . . existence in the villa was a hell."⁵¹ Even the civil government felt the weight of the prelate's hand. In October the lieutenant-governor who had been left in charge of provincial administration when Peralta left Santa Fé was obliged to permit Ordóñez to arrange for and participate in a mili-

tary expedition against Ácoma.⁴⁷ In November Ordóñez was informed that Juan de Escarramad, recently released from confinement at Santo Domingo, and others were planning to free their chieftain. He immediately ordered an *alcalde ordinario* of Santa Fé to arrest Escarramad in the name of the Inquisition and bring him back to Santo Domingo. For three and a half months Escarramad was held a prisoner without having any charges preferred against him.⁴⁸

The prelate spent December reading Peralta's papers and preparing reports to be sent to New Spain. To carry the despatches Ordóñez chose Capt. Alonso Baca, who had formerly served as *sindic* of the Church and had been a member of the group that had helped to effect Peralta's arrest. He read some of the reports to Baca who was said to have asserted to two friars: "I swear to God there is no truth in all that he writes." The prelate also took pains to prevent the sending of letters by other persons who might make a contrary report. To one of the soldiers who was to accompany Baca there had been delivered secretly a *pliego* of papers by the lieutenant-governor and cabildo of Santa Fé. Ordóñez seized the papers, and, according to report, falsified the signatures. The messengers finally left for New Spain in February, 1614, but on the way they met the new governor, Bernardino de Ceballos and delivered the papers to him.⁴⁹

On March 18 Peralta escaped from Sandía and fled to Santa Fé where he took refuge in the house of the lieutenant-governor. Friar Luís de Tirado, the guardian of the Santa Fé convent, immediately summoned a group of soldiers and demanded of them, under threat of censure by the Inquisition, that they seize the fugitive and take him into custody. "So the Father Guardian and all (of them) went to the house of the lieutenant-governor and brought the said governor a prisoner to the convent where they put him in a cell and set guards over him that night. God Our Lord knows how much he suffered because he had had no food for two or three days. He was emaciated, and his foot was

bruised by the fetters. On Saturday, eve of Palm Sunday, twenty-second of the said month, a day bitter cold with snow and wind, the Father Guardian had him put on a horse and covered with a skin like an Indian. And in this manner under guard, the Father Guardian took him to the Father Commissary in Santo Domingo."⁵⁰

Meantime Father Ordóñez had heard that an Indian of Cochití had been killed by Indians from the Jemez pueblos. Immediately he sent soldiers to seize some of the offenders and bring them to Santo Domingo, and there the *alcalde ordinario*, Juan Vitorio de Carabajal, sentenced one of the prisoners to death and executed him under the very eyes of Peralta, despite the fact that the said *alcalde* had no authority to exercise jurisdiction in the case. "He hanged the said Indian by command of the Father Commissary, and it was ordered that more should be executed, with the result that the (Indians) of his nation wished to rise in revolt." Immediately after the execution Ordóñez summoned the Indians so that they might see Peralta as he was taken away to his jail at Sandía. Peralta was held in custody in Sandía until April 7, when, at the request of Friar Estéban de Perea, who was tired of his task as jailer, he was moved to the convent of Sía.⁵¹

Thus the Father Commissary directed the affairs of the province according to his plans and desires. Some of his fellow friars disapproved of his actions, however, and during the winter of 1614 three friars, including Pérez Guerta, discussed plans to return to Mexico. The Father Commissary was able to block this move. A little later Friar Andrés Juárez decided to risk the prelate's ill will and depart. One of his brother friars urged him not to do so, but he replied "that only God could remedy (the situation), that he was determined to leave, (otherwise he would either) hang himself or kill the commissary, because he could not stand it (any longer.)" He went ahead with his plans and finally set out. But Ordóñez, who lay in wait along the way, seized him and took him to Santo Domingo, "where he was ab-

solved and put in a kind of jail for a period of four months.'"⁵²

Among the letters that Juárez was taking to Mexico was found one written by our chronicler, Friar Francisco Pérez Guerta. For some time there had been a coolness between Friar Pérez and Friar Tirado, the Father Guardian of Santa Fé. This had its origin in a difference of opinion concerning certain incidents that occurred during the journey to New Mexico in 1612. In the summer of 1613 Pérez had served as notary for Tirado and Ordóñez during the litigation over the excommunication of Peralta and later during the investigations that were made subsequent to Peralta's arrest. Pérez had not been in agreement with Tirado on many points and had tried to present arguments in behalf of a more reasonable policy; but this attitude of independence merely increased the antagonism that Tirado already felt toward him. During the spring of 1614 Tirado denounced Pérez as a member of the group planning to return to New Spain. Summoned to Santo Domingo, Pérez was lectured by Ordóñez and sent back to Galisteo where he was serving as mission friar. But Pérez was by no means satisfied with the general situation, for he prepared a letter of complaint which he entrusted to Friar Juárez for delivery in Mexico City. This letter was seized at the time Juárez was taken into custody. Immediately Pérez was summoned once more to Santo Domingo where Ordóñez denounced him in the presence of his fellow friars. He was finally sent to Sía where he was held in seclusion for some time.⁵³

Such was the situation when the new governor, Bernardino de Ceballos, arrived early in May, 1614. At first Ceballos expressed great displeasure concerning the events of the preceding months and boasted that he came to restore the honor of his predecessor, but apparently the influence of Ordóñez and his faction was so great that Ceballos soon abandoned this attitude of indignation. Soon after his arrival in Santa Fé on May 12 he started the residencia of Peralta. All of the malcontents seized this opportunity to

justify their acts and denounce those of the former governor. Not until July 4 was Peralta brought to Santa Fé, and even then his position was that of a man accused of serious offenses. Realizing that a fair trial could not be obtained in New Mexico he refused to present a defense and appealed the entire process to the viceroy and audiencia. In October he sent an agent with dispatches for the audiencia. An effort was made to capture the messenger but he escaped. About a month later (November 10) Peralta was finally permitted to depart, but only after having been despoiled of most of his belongings. And at Perrillo on the journey southward four soldiers sent by Ceballos and Ordóñez ransacked his effects searching for letters and dispatches.⁵⁴

Peralta arrived in Mexico during the spring of 1615 and doubtless brought action at once before the audiencia. Unfortunately his residencia has not been found, so that there is an almost complete lack of satisfactory information on this later phase of the affair. The investigation moved very slowly, for it was not until October 6, 1617, that final sentence in the residencia was rendered.⁵⁵ It seems clear, however, that Peralta received satisfaction on one important point, viz., the lack of authority for his arrest in the name of the Inquisition. The Staatsbibliothek of Munich possesses an interesting manuscript entitled *Extractos de Causas de Familiares y Ministros que no son oficiales, que ay en la Camara del Secreto de la Inquisicion de Mexico, 1572-1725*⁵⁶ which contains the following entry:

1615. Fr. Ysidro Ordóñez, Commissary of St. Francis in New Mexico; because pretending to have a commission from the Holy Office and *por causa de Inquisicion*, he sought the aid of soldiers and citizens against the governor, D. Pedro de Peralta, seized him and held him in chains for nine months. On complaint of the said Don Pedro and (on the basis of) information which he gave, (Ordóñez) was brought to Mexico and confined to his convent. But nothing was done, and (after) giving Peralta a statement that there was no *causa*

del Santo Officio (as a basis) for his arrest, license was given to the friar to go as Procurator of this province (of the Franciscan Order) to the General Chapter in Rome.

Except for this brief statement, we have no record of the action by the Holy Office. That some investigation was made seems evident, but no formal *proceso* had been found in the Inquisition papers in the Archivo General y Público, Mexico City. It is probable that the Franciscan Order was forced to make an investigation, but no documents dealing with this phase of the case are available. All that is known is the fact that sometime in 1616, or earlier, a new prelate for New Mexico was appointed *with the title of custodian* (*custodio*). This change of title indicates a greater dignity for the prelates and a larger measure of local autonomy for the New Mexico missions. Whether the change was due to considerations other than the increasing importance of the missionary program is not clear. It is significant, however, that the new prelate was Friar Estéban de Perea, a man of mature years, who had not been sympathetic toward many of the policies of Ordóñez. The exact date on which Perea took office is not known. It was sometime during the winter of 1616-1617, and not later than January 30, 1617.⁶⁷

III

Thus Friar Ordóñez continued to exercise the powers of prelate for approximately two years after the departure of Peralta in November, 1614. During this period the friendship and coöperation which had characterized the relations of Ceballos and Ordóñez in the summer and autumn of 1614 gradually changed to rancor and bitterness. The chief cause for this change seems to have been disagreement over Indian affairs.

According to Pérez Guerta, Ordóñez had cleverly used the Indian problem as a means of making trouble for Peralta. Not only did he object to certain phases of Peralta's levy system for Indian labor, but he also kept a sharp watch

for abuse and mistreatment of Indians by private individuals. "Every little fault, no matter how unimportant, was denounced and exaggerated in the extreme. He saw to it that the governor did not dissimulate, or pardon any act committed by a soldier, rather he kept laying it on his conscience." To keep the peace and set some limits to the actions of irresponsible citizens, Peralta had issued decrees imposing damages in the form of mantas and a penalty of ten days imprisonment for offenses against the Indians.⁵⁸ On one encomendero, Asencio de Archuleta, Peralta imposed a fine of fifty mantas and fifty fanegas of maize for various offenses.⁵⁹ Seeing that the governor actually executed the decrees, the Indians, "greedy for mantas," provoked and invited the Spaniards to commit acts of violence in order to claim damages.⁶⁰ The result of this policy had been to stir up the antagonism of the soldiers, and, if one may believe Pérez Guerta, this was the Father Commissary's purpose in denouncing abuse and oppression and urging Peralta to adopt stern measures. It is interesting to recall that Archuleta was an active member of the ecclesiastical faction in the summer of 1613, that he served as notary and messenger for Ordóñez, and that it was his arrest by Peralta for failure to furnish an official statement of Father Tirado's pronouncement against citizens who spoke to the governor while under pain of excommunication that had greatly complicated matters during that difficult period. These facts give especial point to Pérez Guerta's statement that "the said Asensio and all his relatives, of whom there were many, became capital enemies of Peralta because they were not accustomed to have justice done."⁶¹

The same policy of making complaints against soldiers and citizens was tried out on Ceballos, but, warned by Peralta's experience, the new governor "permitted the soldiers to do certain things that were advantageous to them in order to maintain himself and keep friends, and not find himself in the same position as his predecessor."⁶² Moreover Ceballos, who was "opening his eyes" and learning to

assert himself, astutely exhibited all such letters of complaint to the parties who were denounced, and thus turned the wrath of the citizens against the prelate.⁶³

Relations between the governor and prelate were rapidly embittered. "For the space of two years . . . there was no lack of pleas between the Father Commissary and the governor." And between Ceballos and Friar Tirado, the Father-Guardian of the Santa Fé convent, so much passion was engendered that there were threats of violence. "There were such great scandals," Pérez Guerta wrote, "that they would require another memorial and relation like this one to describe them."⁶⁴

Meantime Ordóñez' influence among the clergy was gradually weakened. Friars like Estéban de Perea, Agustín de Burgos, Andrés Juárez, Bernardo de Marta, and Pedro de Haro de la Cueva had never been wholly sympathetic toward the prelate's policies. They doubted the wisdom of many of his actions and they resented his treatment of the former prelate, Friar Alonso de Peinado. At the time Peralta left New Mexico in 1614 several of the friars wrote letters of complaint to Mexico. Ordóñez made every effort to seize these reports, but one letter written by Friar Peinado to the viceroy could not be found, even when Peralta's effects were searched. Ordóñez summoned Peinado and ordered him to write a second letter denying the things he had written in the first one. "Both letters were received by his excellency who thus had reason to regard Peinado as inconsistent (*liviano*)."⁶⁵ Not content with this, Ordóñez called a council of the clergy in Santa Fé in which he used such severe language against Peinado that the two friars came to blows. The next day Peinado was ordered to leave Santa Fé, "although there was no occasion for it, nor could he (Ordóñez) justly send him away from the Villa where the Venerable Father was loved, esteemed, and welcome because of his age, religious zeal, and poor health." But in order not to cause further trouble Peinado departed.⁶⁶

More than a year passed by. Early in February, 1616, Friar Agustín de Burgos went to Chililí to help Peinado baptize the Indians whom he had converted. During the visit the friars looked over certain papers, including the letter by which Ordóñez had relieved Peinado of the prelacy. Examining this document carefully, Friar Agustín "found it was false from the first letter to the last, (even) the seal." A quiet investigation was started by a few of the friars. Friar Pérez Guerta immediately took the lead in humbly asking Ordóñez that he show him his true patent of appointment. For a few days Ordóñez temporized, but finally exhibited "a patent." "I saw it," Pérez Guerta said, "and I read it, and to this day I do not believe he was prelate, for if he were, there was no reason why he should have falsified the other letter." Having exhibited the patent, the Father Commissary ordered Pérez Guerta held in custody at Santo Domingo.⁶⁷ The prelate circulated a petition condemning certain opinions attributed to his opponent and urging that he should leave New Mexico. A few signatures were obtained, but certain friars, including the prelate's good friend, Friar Cristóbal de Quiros, guardian of Sia, and Friar Juan de Salas, guardian of Isleta, refused to sign. Arrangements for the departure of Pérez Guerta were made, and apparently he actually set out for New Spain. But for reasons that are not entirely clear, the journey was cut short before he left the jurisdiction of the province.⁶⁸

Such was the general situation in the spring of 1616. Nothing is known concerning events during the remainder of the year. Sometime before the end of January, 1617, the mission caravan arrived with supplies and additional friars for the missions. The appointment of Friar Estéban de Perea as prelate and the summons requiring Ordóñez to return to New Spain were probably received at the same time. The caravan returned to New Spain in the autumn of 1617, and with it went Friar Francisco Pérez Guerta who presented the *Relación Verdadera* to the Franciscan Commissary General soon after his arrival in Mexico. Friar Isidro Ordóñez probably left New Mexico at the same time.⁶⁹

All that is known concerning the later career of Ordóñez is contained in the brief item from the Munich manuscript quoted above.

IV

Friar Estéban de Perea was fifty years of age when he succeeded Ordóñez as prelate of New Mexico. A native of Spain, where he entered the Franciscan Order, he went to Mexico in 1605 and affiliated with the Province of the Holy Evangel. Four years later he joined the group of friars sent out to New Mexico with Peralta and Peinado. He was assigned to the Tiwa of the middle Río Grande valley, where he built the church and convent of Sandía and served as a missionary during the major part of fifteen years. Even during the five years (1617-1621) when he was custodian he spent part of his time in Sandía. Although he had not been sympathetic toward many of the actions of his predecessor, Friar Isidro Ordóñez, Perea was zealous in the propagation of the faith, fearless in denunciation of error, and unrelenting in defense of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and immunity. During the ten years from the winter of 1616-1617 to the autumn of 1626 he was the central figure in provincial history.

The first act of Perea as prelate for which we have documentary evidence was a grant of power of attorney to Sebastian de Noboa y Castro, Sindic and Procurator General of the Custodia. This was on January 30, 1617.⁷⁰ On April 17, 1617, Noboa y Castro made a formal complaint against Alférez Juan Escarramad, citizen of Santa Fé, on the charge of having made scandalous and insulting remarks concerning certain friars. The complaint was filed before Friar Bernardo de Aguirre, guardian of Santa Fé, judge-delegate by appointment of Perea, who admitted the plea and ordered the arrest and imprisonment of the accused pending trial.⁷¹

Escarramad had served under Oñate in the conquest and occupation of the province. During the Peralta-Ordóñez affair he had held office as one of the *alcaldes ordi-*

narios of Santa Fé and had been a loyal member of the Peralta faction. He was seized with Peralta in August, 1613, and held in jail for two months. After his release he was once more arrested on the charge of plotting to free Peralta and was kept in custody for another three months without trial. Some time during the period from 1614 to 1616 he went to Mexico on business; in fact, it is probable that it was he who carried dispatches for Peralta in October, 1614.⁷² In Mexico City he had given testimony concerning the state of affairs in New Mexico, and it is logical to assume that his statements were not friendly to Ordóñez and the Church. He returned to New Mexico with the mission caravan of 1616.

As a loyal follower of Peralta he was a marked man; his every word and deed were sure to be noted and criticized. And in view of his experience with Ordóñez, who had held him in jail for some five months, it was inevitable that sooner or later he would express his resentment in bitter terms. Sometime during the winter of 1617 Escarramad went to Sandía for confession. The confessor, Friar Cristóbal de Quiros, showed to Escarramad a report concerning statements of the latter that were distasteful to the clergy, and informed him that before he could receive absolution he must retract. It is not clear whether the statements he was asked to retract were part of the testimony he had given before the audiencia (as one man deposed later during the trial) or merely certain libelous and derogatory remarks. In any case Escarramad refused to comply with the demand on the ground that he would not retract the truth.⁷³ It was not long after this incident, apparently, when Noboa y Castro presented formal charges before the ecclesiastical judge-delegate.

During the course of the trial eight witnesses were examined, and in their sworn depositions they testified that on numerous occasions Escarramad had made derogatory statements concerning the clergy. The most important of these statements are summed up as follows: (1) that Friar

Pedro de Escobar had been a highwayman and thief—in fact, one of the greatest thieves in New Spain—before he had become a friar, but having robbed the whole world, he had taken the habit and made himself a saint; (2) that Friar Alonso de San Juan was a villain and a licentious person; (3) that Governor Peralta was a much better Christian and more religious than all the friars, and that Ordóñez had made false statements to the viceroy and audiencia in regard to the Peralta incident; (4) that in New Mexico there had been only three friars worthy of the name, for all the others were devils who wished to disturb the land.⁷⁴

The trial moved slowly. Escarramad became more and more impatient as time passed on, and on one occasion created a scandal by shouting out from behind the bars of his cell that it was true, the friars were villains and thieves.⁷⁵ He was in an uncompromising state of mind, therefore, when, at the end of June, he was called upon to reply to the charges and to select an attorney to defend him. He refused either to testify or to appoint an attorney; moreover, he denounced Noboa y Castro and questioned his authority to prosecute the case, challenging him to show any authority from the viceroy or audiencia. He also demanded that Friar Cristóbal de Quiros, who was now associated with Friar Aguirre as one of the judges in the case,⁷⁶ should give him a copy of the *memoria* of things he was asked to retract when he went to confess at Sandía. Quiros replied that when Escarramad had refused to make the retraction he had destroyed the paper.⁷⁷

The defendant's protestations against the validity of the trial had no effect and on July 1 the judges-delegate handed down their decision. Escarramad was found guilty of slanderous and disrespectful remarks concerning the clergy, fined fifteen mantas, and ordered to make a public confession of his errors. He immediately appealed from the sentence of the audiencia, but the judges refused to admit the appeal and reaffirmed their decision.⁷⁸

There is some uncertainty concerning the next stage in this affair. The last folio of the original manuscript of the trial record contains a brief petition signed by Friar Quiros and countersigned by the ecclesiastical notary asking the aid of the secular arm for execution of the sentence. On the margin of the same folio and running over to the verso there is an additional statement, apparently supplementary to the above-mentioned petition, which justified the refusal to grant Escarramad an appeal on the ground that he should pay the penalty where his offense had been committed, and threatened that if Governor Ceballos refused to coöperate in execution of sentence the clergy would withdraw from the province and present themselves in person before the viceroy and audiencia. This additional note not only referred to the scandalous remark attributed to Escarramad, but also alleged that Peralta, "his instigator (*factor*)" had made false statements concerning the clergy to the viceregal authorities in New Spain. This passing reference to Peralta gives especial interest and importance to the case, if, indeed, it does not provide the key to the whole affair.⁷⁹

In the copy of the trial record sent to the Holy Office by Perea in 1617, the request of Quiros for the aid of the secular arm is given with the additional note incorporated as an integral part of the petition. It is followed by a document dated July 2, 1617, in which Ceballos stated that he was ready to grant the said aid but with the stipulation that in executing sentence Friar Quiros should avoid any dishonor to Escarramad, in view of the fact that he was a former official of the Crown in New Mexico and that it was not just that in "such a new land" the Indians should see the Spaniards put to shame.⁸⁰ But this document is not found in the original trial record. Instead, the petition of Quiros with the marginal additions is followed by a statement signed by Ceballos in which he not only threatened that if the clergy withdrew to New Spain he would follow after them and present his version of affairs to the viceroy, but he even

cast doubt on the jurisdiction of the clergy in the particular case in question.⁸¹

At the very bottom of the verso of the last folio of the original record is another note, probably written in 1639 when the manuscript was sent to New Spain as part of a justificatory report presented by the cabildo of Santa Fé at the time of the Rosas affair. (See Chapter IV) This note, after briefly referring to the sentence and final execution of the same, states: "And because of this, they excommunicated the governor and absolved him with public penance, as the *real provisión* states . . ."⁸² This *real provisión*, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter III, was an order sent to Friar Perea in 1621 as the result of a series of complaints laid before the viceroy during the years 1617-1620. It contains a definite statement to the effect that Ceballos, as well as Peralta, was excommunicated and later absolved with public penance, but the reasons why Ceballos incurred the censure are not given.⁸³

It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that Ceballos at first refused the aid of the secular arm, but later reconsidered after having incurred ecclesiastical censure. It is difficult to understand, however, why this phase of the litigation does not appear in the copy of the trial record in the Inquisition papers, unless Perea had some doubt concerning the validity of Friar Quiros' actions and did not want the authorities in Mexico City to know that another governor had been subjected to public penance by the Church.

The manner in which the sentence against Escarramad was finally executed is indicated in the 1639 marginal note on the last page of the original record, and by a formal document in the copy of the record. In irons and gagged, he was taken through the streets to the parish church where, in the presence of the assembled citizens, he heard mass and made formal retraction of the libels and slanders he had made against the clergy. According to the certification in the Inquisition copy of the trial record, this was on July 2, 1617, the day following the imposition of sentence. Did the ex-

communication and absolution of Ceballos take place during this brief interval?

When the mission caravan returned to New Spain in the autumn of 1617 numerous reports and letters dealing with the events of the preceding period were dispatched by both the clergy and laymen. Two of these have been preserved and they throw a deal of light on the general situation in the province.

One contained testimony to prove that Capt. Jerónimo Márquez was an inveterate trouble maker, that by innuendo and complaints of one kind or another he was constantly arousing the passion of the governor against the clergy or *vice versa*, that he and his sons were a law unto themselves, even to the extent of stealing the property of others whenever and wherever they wished. In a letter accompanying the testimony Perea asked to have Márquez and his family expelled from the province.⁶⁴ This report illustrates an aspect of the general problem that will be made perfectly clear in subsequent sections of this study, viz., that many citizens of the province were not interested in either the clerical or the secular side of the issues at stake as a matter of personal conviction. They were interested in their own personal profit. If the governor's policy limited their scope of action, they supported the clerical faction; if they were permitted to follow their own line and their own interests, they might be found on the governor's side. As for Captain Márquez, it may be observed (1) that he had been a strong supporter of Oñate during the early years of the conquest and had taken the lead in preparing a denunciation of the clergy and soldiers who deserted the colony in 1601; (2) that twelve years later he was a member of the faction that made possible the arrest and imprisonment of Peralta; (3) that in 1617 he was accused of having caused a public scandal by calling Ordóñez a shameless friar who had destroyed the honor of the citizens.⁶⁵ Moreover, although Márquez voluntarily gave testimony against Escarramad during the trial of the latter, evidence was submitted at the same time that

he had maintained communication with Escarramad despite the threat of excommunication against all who did so.⁸⁶ Thus there is point to the general complaint that he was a trouble-maker. Incidentally, this welter of charge and counter-charge illustrates another sorry aspect of the general situation.

The second document is a letter of Francisco Pérez Granillo, *alcalde ordinario* of Santa Fé. It had been impossible heretofore, he said, to make a report "because of the many excommunications and terrors designed to prevent us from informing that Holy Tribunal⁸⁷ concerning the things that have occurred in New Mexico; the land is afflicted and we live under such constant threats that we have to do only the will of our superiors." If some of the soldiers had assisted in the arrest of Peralta, it was because they had been incited to it by Ordóñez under threat of punishment ("con muchas terrores"). "The people of this New Mexico, Señores, have little learning . . . we have been led and guided by PP. Fr. Isidro Ordóñez and Fr. Luis Tirado, whom we believe to have taken advantage of our ignorance. We now find ourselves called traitors, some of us suffering imprisonment, some have fled, and others are about to lose their property, honor, and life . . . Look with eyes of pity on us and aid our cause, for, on our part, there is little malice, and pardon us if we have been in error."⁸⁸

V

It is extremely unfortunate that it is necessary to base the story of the Peralta-Ordóñez episode almost wholly on the prejudiced account of Pérez Guerta. But even if we discount heavily Pérez Guerta's story, two facts are clear: (1) Ordóñez was responsible for the arrest and imprisonment of a governor and captain general holding office under the Crown; (2) his assertion of authority under the Inquisition was without warrant. It need not be supposed that Peralta was a model governor. But if the clergy believed that they had such serious grievances that further coöperation with the governor was impossible, they should have

taken other measures to remedy the situation. The Peralta incident was never forgotten. It poisoned relations between Church and State at a time when friendly coöperation was so essential.

The Escarramad trial also raised serious questions for the future. Could there be no appeal from the sentence of an ecclesiastical court in New Mexico? Did the governor enjoy no discretion in granting or refusing the aid of the secular arm?

Peralta had been imprisoned. Ceballos had been forced to do public penance. Was there no limit to the authority of the Church?

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. The best account of the Oñate period is G. P. Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the founding of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1927).

2. The instructions of Peralta have been published, Spanish text and English translation, in NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, IV (1929), 178-187.

3. Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla (hereafter to be cited as A. G. I.), Contaduría 714, 715, 850; *Relacion Verdadera q. el p^e predicador fr. Fran^{co} Perez guerta de la orden de S^t fran^{co} guardian del conuento de galisteo hizo al R^{mo} Comiss^o Gen^l de la dha orden de la nueba espa de las cosas succedidas en el nuebo Mex^{co} por los encuentros que tubieron don Pedro de Peralta g^{or} de la dha prouy^a y fr ysidro ordoñez Comiss^o de los frailes de la dicha orden de S^t Fr^{co} q. residen en ella.* (1617?) Archivo General y Público de la Nación, México (hereafter to be cited as A. G. P. M.), Inquisición 316, ff. 149-174.

4. *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

5. For full title, see note 3, *supra*.

6. "Salimos con sumo gusto todos los religiosos dando a Dios gracias por auernos escogido para la suerte de su ministerio ofreciendole a su mag^d mil feruorosas Voluntades y deseos encendidos en su seruy^o presequimos R^{mo} P^e N^{ro} Viage de Zacatecas a S^{ta} Barbara q. son ciento y mas leguas casi todo despoblado y la tierra por donde bienen los carros casi de ningun regalo ni refugio porque si no es solo el fresnillo y Cuencame pobres poblaciones y bien necesitadas no ay otras a mano, pasamos los religiosos en este Tp^o por ser de quaresma y ser despoblado y ir caminando mucha necesidad absteniendonos Violentam^{te} de cosas q. necesitabamos y pudimos remediar en la ciudad de Mex^{co} la queja de estas cosas era comun de todos y atribuíamos la culpa al p^o fr. Ysi^o Ord^a por auernos siniestram^{te} informado del camino y de lo que se pasa padecimoslo por esta causa y ser todos o casi los mas Visoños y poco traginadores del mundo, llego a oidos del dho P^e fr. Ys^o Ord^a la queja delos dhos religiosos y deseo de voluerse algunos (como de hecho lo hizo un her^{no} Lego) queriendonos satisfacer y dar q^{ta} de si nos junto en el rio florido y alli nos propuso q. lo q. llebaba era p^a todos p para tierra donde gustariamos tener algun regalo q. no embargante eso nos proberia de lo neces^o eficaces fueron las rraçones y como no eran ellas las q. nos auian de mober a dejar n^{ra} S^{ta} prou^a y todas las cosas de gusto y regalo sino Dios en confiança de su diuina Mag^d y de lo propuesto y

prometido por el dho P^e Fr Ys^o Ord^z pasamos y padecimos lo q. n^{ro} S^{or} saue en el camino—Tubo con el dho P^e Fr. Ys^o Ord^z el P^e fr Pedro de haro frayle Viejo y antiguo algun desconsuelo y no fue poco porq. le trato el P^e Fr. Ysidro con palabras que era menester mucho espiritu para sufrirlas. Con el P^e fr. Andres perguer tubo otras que tubo q. sentir el religioso muchos dias y principalm^{te} por le auer notado delante de seglares de codicioso. y mas adelante teniendo poca rraçon el dho P^e Fr Ysidro con los her^{mos} Legos fr. ger^{mo} de Pedraça y fr Xpobal de la asumpcion tambien tubo cosas q. obligo a desconsolarse y aun a querer yrse y dejarlo enpeado. Dios q. los tenia para mayores trabajos no lo permitio. Dios n^{ro} S^{or} fue seruydo llegasemos a este Nuevo Mex^{co} a donde antes de llegar alg^{as} quince o Viente leguas enuio el P^e fr. Ys^o Ord^z a la Villa de S^{ta} fee y R^l delos españoles por guardian al p^e fr. Luis tirado dando entre nosotros que murmurar y en los religiosos y prelado q. estaban en el nu^o Mx^{co} q. pensar diciendo todos q. sin presentar sus papeles ni sauer de cierto como no nos constaba fuese prelado como entraba mandando.” *Relación Verdadera*. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

7. “Entramos R^{mo} p^e en el primer conv^{to} de este nu^o Mex^{co} llamado S. Fran^{co} de Sandia a 25 de ag^{to} de 1612 a^{os} donde el p^efr. Ys^o Ord^z mostro su patente y dio la carta al P^e fr. Alonso Peynado en q. le absolua N^{ro} R^{mo} p^e de su officio y le mandaba obedeciese al dho P^e fr. Ys^o Ord^z esta carta R^{mo} como adelante dire parecia ser falsa lo qual no hecho de ber el dho P^e fr. Al^o Peynado.” *Ibid.* Cf. also discussion in the text below. But the proof of fraud is not absolute. The treasury accounts (A. G. I., Contaduría 714) dealing with purchase of supplies for the 1612 caravan refer to Ordóñez as “Comisario,” but this may mean merely that he was to be commissary of the new group of friars during the journey to New Mexico. That is Pérez Guerta’s version. “Señalonos N^{ro} R^{mo} P^e Commiss^o fr Ju^o Zureta por n^{ro} pres^{to} y Commiss^o en el camino hasta llegar a este nuevo Mex^{co} a el P^e fray Ysidro ordoñez mandando en las patentes q. los religiosos traíamos nos presentase el dho. P^e pres^{to} o Commiss^o al que de pres^{te} era y asistia en este nu^o Mex^{co} o real de los españoles que era el padre fr Alonso Peynado.” “N^{ras} patentes recaban q. fuesemos presentados al pe Commiss^o que era y estaba en el R^l tambien en Mex^{co} dijo el p^e Fran^{co} de Velasco a otro que no uenia por pre^{do} sino por pres^{te} y Commiss^o en el camino.” *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

8. As a matter of fact there were not convents enough for all of the friars, new and old, to have guardianships. Moreover, according to Pérez Guerta’s own report, three of the new arrivals were given assignments: Fray Luis Tirado, Fr. Juan de Salas, and Fr. Pedro de Haro de la Cueba. What the new arrivals wanted was immediate assignment to new missions, but Ordóñez properly insisted that they should wait for a few months until they had gained a certain experience with conditions in New Mexico. *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

9. “Llegados los carros que traian el socorro y limosna q. el rey nos auia dado al pu^o de S^{to} domingo a 28 de ag^{to} se descargo alli lo que trayan encargandose dello el P^e Commiss^o para repartirlo entre los religiosos como lo hiço dando de lo que traya a unos mas a otros menos de q. ubo alg^{as} murmuraciones entre alg^{as} que porque no les auia de dar el p^e Commiss^o lo q. daba a los otros aqui se dijo que el p^e Commiss^o auia comutado en Zacatecas muchas arrobas de cera por uno espada una cuera de anta y unos calçones de terciop^o y que auia hecho otras cosas y commutations en Mex^{co} de calices Velos y otras muchas cosas las quales no ui pero oílas a religiosos de quien se podran sauer con alg^a dilig^a y estas mobian pesadumbres que alteraban el animo del p^e Commiss^o y despues que ubo hecho la reparticion de la ropa entre los religiosos le quedaron al dho p^e Commiss^o en su conu^{to} muchas cosas las quales tubo con superfluidad careciendo otros Conu^{tos} dellas como es ganado, mulas, vacas, bueyes, tafetanes cant^d de yerro, acero, herrage, de q. necesitaban los religiosos y con dificultad y por mil suplicaciones las sacaban de poder del dho p^e Commiss^o teniendo su conu^{to} hecho almacén de generos para el gasto y abundancia del.” *Ibid.*

10. “En esta junta q. el p^e fr Ys^o hiço (Pérez Guerta refers to the chapter meeting at Santo Domingo) le quiso quitar la casa y su rincon al p^e fr Al^o Peynado q. auia

acabado de ser Comiss^o con color de q. se fuese con un religioso para que le regalase aunq. no ygnoraba el p^e fr Ysidro ordoñez la diferencia q. ay de esta tierra a la nueba Esp^a y de conu^{tos} a conu^{tos} con todo quiso llevarlo por aquellos terminos, fuele ala mano el padre fr esteban de Perea g^{an} de Sandia y por su respecto le concedio una casa llamada galisteo donde estuvo poco porque a pocos dias le mando por un enojuelo que tubo con el se fuese a otro conuento a ser subdito de otro guardian lo qual hizo el dho p^e fray Alonso Peynado, luego mando el p^e fr Ys^o Ord^z le quitasen a aquella casa lo que tenia adquirido por este Santo Varon y cosas de la mesma casa no dejando como dicen estaca en pared con esta primera afrenta estuvo este Santo Viejo por subdito de el padre fray andres Bautista algunos meses hasta que por enfermedad fue traydo a la uilla de Santa fee R^l de los españoles—en este tiempo y dia procuro dar pena al p^e guardian de la V^a por q. no le auia entregado (o contradecia q. se le entregasen) los diezmos de los V^{os} de la V^a diciendo q. solo pertenecian al conu^{to} della le reprehendia grauem^{te} y le quiso açotar en el conu^{to} de galisteo por que ya eran coxquillas atrasadas por q^{to} en el camino le dijo el dho p^e fr Luis Tirado al dho p^e fr Ys^o Ord^z q. sauia poco en una porfia y poco era necess^o para encender fuego se yba estos dias encendiendo—El dho p^e fr Luis Ti^{do} quiso hacer junta y la hizo en realidad de Verdad de algunos religiosos y nos juram^{to} y hizo firmar n^{ros} nombres para q. con licencia o sin ella nos fuesemos ala pres^a de V. R^{ma}. Todos con el demasiado desconuelo teniamos gana de hacerlo y suficiente causa. Dios n^{ro} S^{or} lo ordeno por otro camino.” *Ibid.* In another place, referring to the slowing down of the mission program during Ordóñez’ prelacy, Pérez Guerta stated: “Y assi en tres años de quatro que a que es comiss^o no se baptizo ynfel ni se aprobocho en la conuersion saluo un pueblo que el p^e fr Al^o peinado baptizo desterrandose Voluntariam^{te} a las Salinas por apartarse de las cosas del p^e Comiss^o que le auia tratado mal y puesto en ocasion de causarse un grande escandalo.” *Ibid.* There are several references to Peinado’s mission at Chilili in other parts of the *Relación Verdadera*.

11. “Antes que el p^e fr ysidro ordoñez fuese a la nu^a esp^a a procurar el sobre dho. despacho y a traernos a los dhos religiosos ut supra auia tenido con el g^{or} muchas cosquillas dijo un seglar amigo del p^e fr Ys^o Ord^z que es el Cap^{an} Vaca que el dho. fr. Ysidro yba a traer el off^o de G^{or} en su propia pers^a otros an dho. que fue para armarse contra don P^o de peralta porq. no le tenia buena Voluntad ni el dho don P^o de P^{ta} a el dho fr. Ys^o y asi dicen que dijo el G^{or} q^{do} supo que benia el dho fr Ys^o hecho comiss^o plugiera a Dios biniera el demonio y no biniera ese fraile.” *Ibid.*

12. “En el mes de Sept^{re} del dho año de 612 bino el p^e fr. Ys^o Ord^z a la V^a de S^{ta} fee a presentarle a don Pedro de Peralta una prouys^{on} R^l que el dho p^e auia ympetrado para abrirles la puerta a los soldados que quisiesen salir, leyda q. fue la prouys^{on} al gou^{or} respondio q. la obedecia y cumpliria auriendole antes pedido al p^e fr Ys^o q. no se la notificasen porq. resultaria della mucho daño a la tierra como resultado por la mucha gente casada y avecindada q. salio della por la dha prouys^{on} porque la gente era poca, la tierra nueba, muchos los enemigos y saliendo los q. se fueron pudiera auer peligro en los que quedaban, y de un gran desueruicio de Su Mag^d por ello y aunque el G^{or} tomo muchos medios para que no se le presentase no bastaron y ult^{mente} le amenaço el comiss^o diciendo q. sino cumplia la dho prouys^{on} dejando salir la gente q. lo podia hacer en uirtud della selo auia de pagar y que le auia de hacer salir sin almofrex y con esto el g^{or} complio la prouision.” *Ibid.* But in fairness to Ordóñez the following facts should be noted. In 1608 and again in 1609 soldiers were enlisted in New Spain to serve as escort for the friars and supplies that were sent to New Mexico, and they were paid a year’s salary in advance. A. G. I., Contaduría 09. Cristóbal de Oñate and Peralta forced several of these soldiers to remain in New Mexico to serve as members of the local militia, instead of permitting their immediate return to New Spain. It is not unlikely that when Ordóñez returned to New Spain in 1611 these soldiers appealed to the viceroy and the latter may have sent back a formal decree (a *real provisión* invoking the name of the king could not be

ignored) authorizing their departure. In any case, several soldiers who did leave New Mexico in 1612, after presentation of the *real provisión*, brought suit in the audiencia of Mexico for back pay, and although the audiencia refused to recognize the full amount of these claims, lump sums were paid in order to discharge the implied liability. A. G. I., Contaduría 716.

13. Pérez Guerta stated that Ordóñez tried to blame Peralta for the departure of the soldiers by asserting that encomiendas were not available. But our informant insisted that Peralta published decrees offering encomiendas, and he took pains to point out, also, that Ordóñez's action had a direct influence on the slowing down of the mission program. When some of the newly arrived friars asked for permission to undertake teaching and indoctrinating unconverted pueblos, and thus prevent the missions from becoming a "calmed ship," Ordóñez justified his refusal of permission on the ground that there were no soldiers available for escort. "And in this he was right," Pérez Guerta remarked, "for he [Ordóñez] was to blame for many leaving the province because of that *provisión* which, as has been noted, he forged." *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M. Inquisición 316.

14. "Algunas cartas escriuio a religiosos cerca del expediente de los Vales que daba el G^{or} para llebar yndios de los pueblos a las obras y labores de la Villa de lo qual gustaba poco el p^e Comiss^o y con las cartas q. escreuia y lo que se hacia se yndignaba el dho Gou^{or} que no nos era sumam^{te} deuoto y qualquiera poca cosa que tocase a su jurisdiccion bastaua para desquiciarle de la paciencia fundado en el poder y mando que tenia." *Ibid.*

15. "Algunas coxquillas tubieron las cabeças acerca de sacar los yndios de sus pueblos para el seruy^o pers^a1 el p^e Comiss^o tenia raçon de defenderlos por benir de doce de catroce y a lo mas lejos de veinte leguas por el largo camino y poca comida que ellos traen de solo mayz tostado y los españoles no darles de comer todos aunq. lo hacen algunos y a esto dice el G^{or} q. de los pu^{os} comarcanos no le dejan sacar gente y si la saca alg^a bez mas de lo q. es justo no lo tiene por acertado por ser contra conciencia que solos a aquellos V^{os} pueblos se les cargue todo el seruicio de los españoles y assi los hacia benir a todos por sus turnos y en el darles la comida el g^{or} la daba a los que a el le seruian y mandaba a los V^{os} se la dieran yo soy testigo de lo que daba a los de el pu^o de S^t ylefonso y el p^e fr andres baptista ello era poco pero no podian ni tenian mas que dar y por ser grande la pobreza de la tierra no todos podian dar de comer a los yndios y los que se lo daban no era lo que ellos comen fuera de sus casas." *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. According to Pérez Guerta the relations between the governor and the clergy with the exception of Ordóñez were friendly: "A 4 de febrero de 1613 Vine a uiuir a la V^a donde estube por subdito del p^e fr Luis tirado y por la misericordia de Dios auia suma paz entre religiosos y seglares y todos estabamos muy contentos aunque no con el pre^{do} empero en casa del G^{or} entrabamos comiamos alli muchas beces veuiamos chocolate que nos lo daba con mucho gusto y mas al p^e fr Luis tirado su amigo al p^e haro al padre fr Agustin al p^e Pereguer al p^e fr. geronimo can quienes tenia platicas y conversacion la pascua comimos en su casa—A 16 de abril le dio el g^{or} al p^e Tirado una pistola muy rrica y a 18 del mismo troco al p^e fr Pedro de haro que se lo pidio un muy lindo arcabuz que el g^{or} estimaba mucho por otro no tal y a 23 del dho dio el g^{or} un rrico cuchillo de monte damasquino guarnecido con plata y con la cabeza de diente de caballo marino al p^e fr. luis Ti^{do} q. se le pidio y un pedago de acero y con esto mil ofrecimientos y buena cara para todos y para todo le hallabamos porque reprehendia y castigaba qualquier exceso de los Soldados." *Ibid.*

19. "... y altero mucho esta nueba al p^e guardian dela Villa, y paso al conu^{to} de S^{to} Domingo a noticia del p^e Comiss^o a quien causo mayor alteracion: pusose en camino el p^e Comiss^o y uino a la V^a a 15 del dho mes y pidio al g^{or} se acudiese con tiempo al rem^o de tal atrebim^{to} con demostracion de escarm^{to} de este parecer fue el p^e gu^{an} de la Villa y aunque se llegase a fuego y a sangre que era justo no se tar-

dase el castigo porq. los yndios no tomasen auilantez y juzgando poco Valor y fuerça en los españoles enprendiésen alg^a maldad." *Ibid.*

20. "Viernes 24 del dho mes de mayo queriendo el Comiss^o yrse desde el conu^{to} de nambe para el de S^{to} Domingo que era su abitacion dia en q. tambien salieron de la V^a los dhos Cap^{es} y soldados para el pueblo de los Taos a cobrar sus tributos por mandado de su g^{or} antes que el p^e Comiss^o saliese de nambe llego alli uno de los Soldados q. yban a los Taos llamado gaspar Perez a la casa del religioso y auendosi apeado topo con el p^e Comiss^o y le beso las manos y el p^e Comiss^o le preg^{to} para donde se camina respondio el Soldado a los taos nos enuia el S^{or} g^{or} a esto respondio el p^e Comiss^o pues aora Vispera de pascua; quantos van? respondio el Soldado dos cap^{es} van y seis Soldados, dijo el p^e Comiss^o pues donde estan? y el Soldado a el por el otro camino van q. yo e benido por uer al p^e guardian, a esto dijo el p^e Comiss^o pues S^{or} yo'le mando so pena de excomunion mayor se Vuelua a la V^a y dijo luego a un indiequelo llamado Joseph criado suyo anda muchacho diles a aquellos Soldados q. les mando por descomunion se Vuelban a la V^a q. alla uoy. el muchacho fue y luego partio el español y el p^e Comiss^o para la Villa, el muchacho llego y dijo lo que el p^e Comiss^o le auia mandado y luego q. los españoles lo oyeron se voluieron al g^{or} (alg^{os} de los dhos Soldados dicen q. se voluieron porque yban de mala gana otros que por el mandato)." *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*

22. "El g^{or} respondio al dho monit^o que era cosa nueba y no antes uista en aquella tierra auer en ella Comiss^o del S^{to} off^o que q^{do} su p^d entro no fue con tal n^o ni se entendio .que trugese tal comision del S^{to} Off^o y que a el como a cabeça que era de la just^a en esta tierra en n^o de el rey n^{ro} S^{or} pertenecia sauerlo y en uirtud de q. exercia jurisdiccion. que el p^e Comiss^o le mostrase como lo era de el S^{to} off^o y q. siendolo como decia le obedeceria con toda prontitud." *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. "Sabado 25 del dho mes . . . se taño a misa y con auer de ser de la Vigilia de pentecostes se dijo de n^{ra} Señora y en ella el p^e g^{an} fr Luis Tirado publico por descomulgado al dho g^{or} con palabras arto pesadas contra el diciendo que ning^o le ablase ni aunq. le quitase el sombrero so pena de excom^{on} esta opinion tubo hasta q. la muchedumbre de descomulgados q. se benian a absolver le hicieron estudiarla verdadera." *Ibid.*

25. Cf. note 18.

26. "La dho orden q. dejo al p^e g^{an} el p^e Comiss^o sobre la absolucion del g^{or} se la enuia para q. la uiesse el dho p^e g^{an} en gran secreto con el Cap^{an} Bar^{me} Romero su teniente y a decir que pues sauia quan gran amigo suio era le rogaba pidiese la absolucion y se contentase de tomarla de su mano (porq. este dia despues de comer se auia ydo el p^e Comiss^o a su conu^{to} del pu^o de S^{to} Domingo) que procederia como amigo diciendo la misa dos oras antes de el dia y que no asistirian en ella mas que tres o quatro amigos suios y que aduirtiesse q. las penitencias de la yglesia no eran afrentosas y que no esperase a que el p^e Comiss^o Voluiesse de S^{to} Domingo porque no pasarian las cosas con la equidad y secreto que el le ofrecia—el g^{or} despues de estas palabras leyo la dha orden y haciendosele dura por no caer debajo de fundamento de justificacion respondio que el no auia hecho porque le descomulgasen aleg^{do} como ho^e q. sauia muchas y buenas raçones y juntam^{te} que no queria receuir semejante forma de absolucion y con esto no queria dar el papel de la dha orden sino quedarse con ella—el Cap^{an} Romero q. se la auia traydo le inoportuno y dijo q. de aquella manera no se le podia cumplir al p^e g^{an} fr Luis tirado la palabra q. en su n^o le auia dado de q. se la Volueria y con esto se la dio y el Cap^{an} al p^e g^{an}." *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

27. Peralta could justify his refusal to accept the Father Commissary's order for public absolution and penance on royal legislation dealing with the form of absolution for civil officers. The *Recopilación*, lib. i, tit. vii, ley xviii, contains the following provision based on cédulas of October 31, 1599 and March 28, 1620: "Rogamos y encargamos a los arzobispos y obispos de todas y cualesquier Iglesias metropolitanas

y catedrales de nuestras Indias Occidentales, asi de las provincias del Perú como de la Nueva-España y a sus vicarios, oficiales, provisores, y demas jueces eclesiásticos de ellas, que cuando sucediere algun caso en que hayan de absolver a alguno de nuestros oidores, alcaldes, corregidores, gobernadores, u otros nuestros jueces y justicias, o sus ministros y oficiales contra los cuales hubieren procedido por censuras, por algunas de las causas que conforme a derecho lo puedan hacer, les concedan la absolución llanamente, como se practica en estos nuestros reinos de Castilla, y no los obliguen a ir personalmente a recibirla de sus propias personas, y en sus casas episcopales o iglesias, ni para actos semejantes. Y mandamos a nuestras audiencias reales que libren provisiones ordinarias de ruego y encargo, para que sucediendo el caso los dichos preladados y jueces eclesiásticos absuelvan llanamente a nuestras justicias y a sus ministros, como se practica en estos nuestros reinos de Castilla."

28. The *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316, contains several statements by Pérez Guerta describing the attitude of Tirado and Ordóñez during these troublous days. Pérez Guerta accused the friars of injustice and passion in their dealings with Peralta: "... vide despues por vista de ojos que se procedia con passion y con animo Vengatiuo queriendo mas dañar que aprovechar como cada dia bian y oian todos que el p^o g^{an} en el altar trataba de herege de judio, de luterano y de hombre Vaxo y uil al g^{or} y con estas y otras tales obras yba yo abriendo los ojos y conociendo los males q. an benido a la tierra asi de religiosos como seglares por poner dhos dos padres todo su conato en desacreditar al g^{or} y heche de ber que esto era assi Verdad de que los dhos dos padres trataban de destruir al g^{or} porque en estos dias se pusieron a hacer el p^o Comiss^o y el g^{an} de la Villa una ynformay^{on} contra el g^{or} de off^o sin acusador y sin infamia ni yndicios mas de los que quisieron vuscar ellos, el p^o Comiss^o hiço a su pedimiento en n^o de la S^{ta} ynquis^{on} un ynterrogat^o de diez y nuebe preguntas y enpeço cabeça de proceso contra el dho g^{or} hacia el p^o Comiss^o llamar a quien le parecia y preguntabale por el thenor de las preguntas, qu^{do} el test^o se alargaba q. no auia ning^o que asi no lo hiciera diciendo bien y mal deciale el p^o Comiss^o q. no digese assi que digese lo q. la preg^{ta} contenia q. lo demas lo dirian si despues se lo preguntasen. A othos qu^{do} no decian a gusto del padre comiss^o el dho p^o corregia el language y dho diciendo eso no se a de decir assi porque aquellos Señores del S^{to} off^o no se enfaden con ese language, de este modo de hacer ynformay^{on} salian todos espantados y principalm^{te} q. q^{do} alg^o decia q. sauia lo q. decia la preg^{ta} luego incontinenti me hacia el p^o Comiss^o poner q. la saue como en ella se cont^e pasaron estas ynformaciones ante el que hiço esta rel^{on} que era not^o nombrado, el modo de proceder en esta ynformacion era que el p^o Comiss^o hacia encar de rrodillas a los test^{os} que el mesmo hacia llamar y puestos assi y destocados les mandaba por S^{ta} obediencia so pena de excom^{on} mayor no digesen a nadie lo q. alli juraban por ser cosas de el S^{to} off^o y luego les tomava juram^{to} en un misal sobre los ebangelios mandandoles digesen Verdad, en esta ynformacion R^{mo} P^e que hiço el p^o fr Ys^o en n^o de la Santa ynquisicion procuro sauer todo quanto podia auer hecho un ho^e en esta uida. en ella entraban alg^{as} cosas q. auian sucedido en tiempos passados procurando poner por preguntas los puntos que le notaba, es Verdad que dijo el g^{or} en cierta ocasion de enojo y de malicia por uida de Dios segun dicen, y assi ni mas ni menos que mostrandole un priuilegio de Clem^{te} 7^o en fauor de los syndicos porque queria dar pena o dar 200 açotes a uno aunque no se los dio, dijo al q. se lo mostraba que era un her^{no} lego Vaya p^e que no conozco a Clem^{te} 7^{mo} dicen tambien que a bien q. auia dho a su S^o q. pues cantaban yndios en el coro que no cantase entre ellos que se estimase, Tambien digeron que auia tenido acceso con dos primas, si todo lo demas es verdad como esta todo esta trabajado y no aseguro las conciencias de los que an jurado en esta y otras ynformaciones por lo que ellos mesmos an dho a su g^{or} Ber^{no} de Zaballos y a otras pers^{as} diciendo que tienen dolor en el alma de lo que an jurado y el g^{or} que a hecho contra conciencia en lo que a hecho, como ello R^{mo} P^e esta en la audi^a R^l y de alli a de pasar a otro tribunal. espero en Dios que no tenga V P R^{ma} mucho trabajo en sacar en limpio la Verdad y assi yo tampoco no sere largo q. lo pudiera ser mucho por la mucha cant^d de cosas succedidas en este nu^o mex^o por el p^o Comiss^o fr Ys^o y fr Luis Tirado."

29. These rumors were based on statements Peralta was supposed to have made when questioning the soldiers whom he had sent to collect the tributes at Taos. "Parece q. el dia antes Juebes 23 estando el g^{or} en la plaça con alg^{os} Soldados y entre ellos Ju^o de Tapia escriu^o del caui^o y uno de los quatro encomenderos de los taos platicando sobre la nueba fresca de las 12 terneras de sibola q. le traian caçadas al g^{or} el dho tapia le dijo si VS. nos diese licencia para q. nos quedemos esta pascua en la V^a los que emos de yr a los taos nos ara mucha mr'd y luego en pasando la pascua haremos ese Viage. preguntole el g^{or} q. q. se le ofrecia que hacer en la V^a aquella pascua, el dho tapia le respondio q. ning^a cosa mas que holgarse en su casa con su muger y sus hijos y añadir a la olla alg^a cosa mas del ordin^o y el g^{or} le dijo que pues no deseaba quedarse para mas que aquello que matase un par de buenas gallinas y las hiciese cocer con un pedaço de jamon de tocino y las salpimentase y llebase en sus alforjas y se fuese a donde le enbiaba que con eso tendria buena pascua donde quiera que le cogiese y que mirase que no era mala pascua yr a servir al Rey en aquella ocasion y hacer su propia hacienda de camino—y esto mesmo Soldado dijo despues al p^e Comiss^o y aun lo Juro q. le auia mandado el g^{or} meter la pascua en el alforja y yr donde le mandaba tengolo por patraña y puede ser verdad pero consideradas las cosas como yo las ui y oi lo prim^o me atengo—lo que este Soldado dijo formo el p^e Comiss^o un caso de ynquisi^{on} como adelante dire." *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31 "A 7 de Junio mando el P^e g^{an} se le notificase al g^{or} otro monit^o p^a q. hiciese soltar de la pris^{on} al dho Not^o asensio al qual no auia querido soltar aquellos dias antes procedio contra el y le auia hecho cierta condenacion a yrle a notificar este monit^o salio antes de leerse de casa y se fue a un monte que estaba como a tiro de arcabuz della Volui otra y otra vez hasta q. descuidado le halle y ley el dho monit^o a est^o R^{dio} [respondió] q. aquel h^e era soldado del Rey y que no hallaba por donde el p^e g^{an} le podia hacer esento de la juridicion Rⁱ que el apelaua de aquellas descomuniones y injustas penas de jueces tan apasionados y q. para ello enbiaria despues una pet^{on} al p^e g^{an} como lo hiço. llego como a las tres de la tarde al conu^{to} el escriu^o y dos testigos a requerir al p^e g^{an} que no le ynquietase con tantas y tan rigurosas descomuniones y penas porque estaba patente la demasiada pasion con q. se hacian que de todas ellas apelaba para tribunal que mas desapasionadam^{te} conociese de los neg^{os} que estaban en litis. el p^e g^{an} fr. Luis Tirado arremetio al escriu^o y le quito el papel de las manos y se le hiço pedaços y le piso y le dijo digese al g^{or} mucha cant^d de palabras muy feas y indignas de q. las digese un religioso y se digesen a un g^{or} este mesmo dia le escriuio una carta de un pliego el p^e g^{an} al gou^{or} y en lugar de JHS. le puso Dios te alumbre miembro de Satanas y luego le fue diciendo palabras q. como sacerdote yndigno no se que otro hombre que Job. pudiera con las cosas pasadas dejarse de perder con esta carta." *Ibid.*

32. "en estas ydas y benidas enuio el g^{or} Su S^o con una pet^{on} para el p^e Comiss^o la qual no quiso oir diciendo delante de religiosos que alli estabamos Capit^{as} y otros soldados que diablos anda aqui el g^{or} con recaudos replicas y embajadas un hombre tal y tal tratandole con muy feas y deshonrras palabras q. lo menos era tratarle de hombre vil y bajo &c y tras ellas dijo a los q. le oian esto digo para q. Vsms. se lo digan (como si faltaran coronistas) y prosiguió diciendo Juro por uida de Fr Ya^o q. si me anda en demandas y respuestas y no recieue la absolucion como se le a dho que dentro de veinte y quatro horas haga Venir mis 20 frailes aqui y le haga prender y Vsms. dejenle que yo se lo allanare y pondre humilde. finalm^{te} alg^{os} amigos de el p^e Comiss^o le rogaron se templase y assi dispenso en que no oyese el g^{or} la misa como queda referido pero que pagase los cinq^{ta} ducados digo pesos de pena y fuese absuelto a la puerta de la yglesia con el pide miserere conforme al manual—este propio dia luego que vido el g^{or} la resolucio del p^e Comiss^o se determino a Venir a pedir la absolucion y receuirla como el mesmo p^e Comiss^o en pers^a quiso darsela q. fue en esta forma el g^{or} bino a la puerta de la yglesia y el padre Comiss^o y padre g^{an} de aquella

casa y yo y otros dos religiosos salimos por el cuerpo de la ygl'a el p^e Comiss^o con sobre pelliz y con dos baras en las manos y antes q. procediese a la absolucion preg^{to} el p^e Comiss^o al dho g^{or} si tenia algunos escritos contra religiosos el g^{or} dixo q. no el p^e Comiss^o dijo si tiene VS. por que e sauido que a hecho una ynformacion abra pocos dias entonces dijo el g^{or} si e hecho de cierta dilig^a es q. se hiço en este conu^{to} pues combiene para receuir la absolucion la exhiba, el g^{or} le dijo mire padre que importa a esto dijo el p^e Comiss^o no le absoluere sino trae esa ynform^{on} y me la entrega el g^{or} dijo eso a de ser de esa manera, el p^e Comiss^o assi a de ser luego el g^{or} orejando dijo a su secret^o tome S^{or} esta llaue y trayga la ynformacion q. hicimos tal dia y el S^o fue y la trujo y se la dio el g^{or} la tenia en sus manos y preg^{to} al p^e Comiss^o que q. se auia de hacer della el p^e Comiss^o dijo q. se la diese. el g^r dijo q. le perdonase q. no se la auia de dar pues q. le declarase los testigos eso menos pues q. la rompiese. eso hiço arto de mala gana acabada de romper se ynco de rodillas y el p^e Comiss^o començo la forma de la absolucion y a cada verso del miserere le daba con las Varas y acabada la absolucion le m^{do} entrar en la yglesia y que jurase de serle obediente assi lo hiço con arta humildad y luego le mando diese una firmada de su n^e que daria los cinq^{ta} p's para la cosecha por que dijo que entonces no los tenia el g^{or} se fue a su casa y nosotros nos entramos en la n'ra." *Ibid.*

33. "Temiendo pues los dhos amigos y parientes del hechor algun rrigor del g^{or} q. lo pedia el successo escriuieron al p^e Comiss^o queriendose amparar del al p^e Comis^o le estaba bien para q. no auiedo de cesar los pleytos (como no llebaba traça) amparar esta gente por ser muchos los parientes y hacer su neg^o como adelante sucedio y en lo escrito se notara y para proceder con claridad. los presos por el suceso y parientes del dho hechor fueron los dos her^{nos} Varelas el Cap^{an} alonso Varela y el alfr^s P^o Varela el Cap^{an} Ger^{mo} Marquez, el Cap^{an} Vaca amigos y tambien presos." *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. "... se fue el p^e Comiss^o al altar y puesto en pie en una grada sin manto ni otra Vestidura mas q. su auto dijo tantas y tales cosas q. si auia causado grande escandalo en el quitarle la silla al g^{or} mayor le causaron las palabras que dijo todas picando y lastimando [...] al g^{or} llamando Vosotros al auditorio ellos el comun language suio y fueron tantas las palabras q. se atropellaban unas a otras y por esto pudo ser lapsus lingue lo que dijo." *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. "Este propio dia hiço llamar el p^e Comiss^o al Cap^{an} Romero al qual le dijo Vaya Vm. al g^{or} y digale q. le beso las manos y q. se sirua su S^a de dar licencia al sindico, al fiscal, y al not^o (que ya estaba suelto de la pris^{on}) para yr el sindico a recoger los diezmos y los demas a otras partes que tienen que yr. el dho Cap^{an} fue y dijo al g^{or} lo que el P^e Comiss^o le auia mandado a lo qual respondio el g^{or} que aquellos hombres eran soldados y estaban siruiendo al Rey y demas de esto el Sindico no tenia diezmos q. recoger que perdonase desta manera y aun con menos palabras lo dijo el dho Cap^{an} al p^e Comiss^o estando y alçando los manteles de la mesa el p^e Comiss^o tomo tan gran enojo q. le hiço decir espantosas palabras que causaron arta pena—porque llamo al g^{or} de Lut^o erege, judio, hombre Vajo y Vil maxcarero de nap^{es} y acyetero, jurando q. se lo auia de pagar echandose mano a la barba y diciendo que auia de enbiar a llamar los frayles y que le auia de hechar al g^{or} dos pares de grillos y en una enjalma enbiallye a Mex^{co} y esto a boces junto al patio que esta bien en la calle por lo qual pudo benir a noticia del g^{or} y tras esto dijo no me espanto tanto de ese bellaco peraltilla como de los Ruines que andan a su lado y consienten estas cosas.—el cap^{an} tomo esso por si y respondio p^e mire V P. que soy hombre honrrado y soy her^{no} de la orden y que no hago malas ausencias a VsP^{es} a esto dijo el p^e Comiss^o si S^{or} her^{no} es Vm. pero yo digo que son ruines los que consienten estas cosas en ese hombre. a estas rraçones el dho Cap^{an} que era h^e prudente se quito el sombrero y sin ablar palabra se fue—el p^e Comiss^o se lebanto de

la mesa y se sento luego a escreuir con las quales cartas enuiaba a llamar alg^{os} religiosos comarcanos y luego las despacho." *Ibid.*

39. For a fuller account of what happened on July 9, see Appendix I.

40. "Todos los religiosos oyeron al p^e Comiss^o sus justificaciones y culpas del g^{or} porq. sacados los que arriba referi que es el p^e g^{an} de la V^a fr Luis Tí^{do} y fr andres Xuarez y Yo y el religioso lego herido todos los demas que eran doce religiosos no sabian ni aun oy sauen lo sucedido sino por boca y relacion del p^e Comiss^o o g^{an} de la V^a fr Luis Tí^{do} y de algunos seglares amedrentados por el p^e Comiss^o para no poder decir lo que a pasado en la tierra como adelante se dira y assi yo ni mas ni menos no me atrebia a contar a nadie nada porque Viuia el p^e Comiss^o con notable cuidado con todos los que conocia que podian decir o escreuir . . . Abiendo propuesto el p^e Comiss^o a los padres todos su Voluntad que era de yr a la Villa a hacer prender al gou^{or} n^{ro} p^e fr Alonso Peynado dio su parecer de q. se mirase bien y si podia pasar adelante el hacer el g^{or} otras cosas como las pasadas y los religiosos no auian de tener seguridad en la tierra nos fuessemos y adelante enuiase el p^e Comiss^o quien diese noticia al s^{or} Virrey y audiencia R^l y que en S^{ta} Barbara podiamos aguardar el remedio de todo. El p^e Comisario barajo los pareceres gustando se hiciese el suio. Visto por los religiosos todos callaron salbo el p^e Martha que quiso dar su parecer pues para ello auia sido llamado. yba dando las propias raçones que nuestro p^e fr Alonso y que arto ynportaban, el p^e Comiss^o se auia casado con su parecer y assi nos mando a Todos los religiosos q. como cada uno pudiese se auia—y fuesemos todos a la V^a." *Ibid.*

41. Salimos del dho conuento a las dos o tres de la tarde el dho Sabado 13 de Jullio y llegamos a la Villa como a las diez o las once de la noche donde luego el dia sig^{te} domingo 14 de jullio por la mañana hiço el p^e Comiss^o un requerimyento a los alcaldes y caulido pidiendoles prendiesen al g^{or} acabada la misa mayor mando el p^e Comiss^o a los religiosos saliessemos a la yglesia y alli en la peaña del altar mayor me m^{do} leyese el requerimiento en q. les pedia a los alcaldes y rregidores Cap^{es} y demas oficiales de guerra prendiesen al g^{or} atento que auia ydo a matar al p^e Comiss^o sin mas causa que llebado de su dañada yntencion, y porque se queria huir a la nu^a esp^a por no atreberse a parecer en la R^l audiencia donde no podia dar quenta de mucha hacienda r^l que tenia Vsurpada y auer hecho otras cosas muy feas q. le ponía en el dho requerim^{to} para moverlos a hacer la dha prision que el dho p^e Comiss^o, gustaba se hiciese por los españoles los quales luego pidieron trespado del dho requerim^{to} y que ellos responderian—este mesmo dia a las dos de la tarde binieron los regidores un alcalde y algunos capitanes y estubieron con el p^e Comiss^o g^{an} de la V^a fr Luis tirado dos oras dificultando en como podian ellos hacer la dha prision q. su p^d mandaba los dhos dos p^{es} la facilitaban enpero los españoles por tiempo de ocho dias que alli estubimos aguardando la resp^{ta} ning^o se mouio ni fue de parecer se prendiese al dho g^{or}. Visto esto por el dho p^e Comiss^o ordeno de hacer despacho y enuiar a los q. estaban retraydos con el qual fue el dho Alferes Simon Perez y otros tres Soldados escriuiendo al S^r Visorrey una carta haciendo relacion de lo q. auia pasado como quiso con algunos regidores y un alcalde pidiendo lic^a al Virrey para prender al dho g^{or} este papel por uer el S^o de gou^{on} como yba no quiso autorizarle yo fui el secret^o y me peso—sali este despacho de quatro Soldados y un religioso en 23 de jullio de 1613 llegaron a mex^{co} y dicen que quiso el Virrey castigar a los que auian salido sin lic^a del g^{or} enuio la carta que el p^e Comiss^o y regidores auian enbiado a su Ex^a con el nuebo g^{or} para que la reconociesen los que la auian firmado—El mesmo dia enuio el g^{or} al alcalde Ju^o Ruiz de caceres en seguim^{to} de los q. salian con otros dos soldados y pudiendolos prender por respecto del p^e Comiss^o los dejaron yr." *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*

43. "En la V^a tenia el p^e Comiss^o un h^e q. hacia a dos manos auia dado la palabra a^l g^{or} de yr con el a la nu^a Esp^a y al p^e Comiss^o le escreuia le auisaria de la salida y los parages y jornadas q. hiciese el g^{or} para q. con mas comodidad le prendiesen. a 10 de Ag^{to} a las quatro de la tarde lleo auiso al p^e Comis^o q ya el g^{or} se auia puesto en camino. luego al punto escriuió el p^e Comiss^o a todos los religiosos

biniesen al conu^{to} de S^{to} Domingo armados como pudiesen religiosos vinieron y religiosos se escusaron para el dho caso. A 11 del dho ag^{to} despues de m^a noche salio el p^o Comis^o con alg^{as} armas y los que auia de llebar en su comp^a y fue a amanecer al conu^{to} de Sandia donde estaba el p^e g^{an} de aquella casa bien descuidado de tan subita llegada del p^o Comiss^o alli trato el p^o Comiss^o con los Cap^{es} y Soldados que llebaba q. le pidiesen por pet^{on} que ya que ellos yban a prender al g^{or} por q. desamparaba la Ti^a y salia huyendo a la nu^a espa^a q. su p^d les diese fauor y que para eso que el haria el papel ellos digeron que enora buena hiço el p^o Comiss^o una pet^{on} en q. les cargaba la pris^{on} totalmente a los españoles. Ellos biendo y oyendo la pet^{on} no quisieron firmarla mas digeron al p^o Comiss^o q. pues su p^d los llebaba para aquel efecto q. se hiciese otro papel. hiçole el p^o Comiss^o y fue del S^o el p^e fr agustin. este hallaron mas aproposito los cap^{es} y le firmaron los dhos cap^{es} este papel ti^e sus falsedades en la ffha porq. se hiço a 12 de agosto en el pueblo de La ysleta y pusieron la ffha en la Vi^a de S^{ta} fee y pusieron por test^{os} y quedaban su parecer y consentim^{to} personas que no se hallaron presentes porque estaban en la Vi^a veinte leguas de tierra en medio q. no les pasaba por la ymaginacion ni sabian lo que en La ysleta se hacia este papel esta en poder del S^o de gou^{on} frn^{co} Perez granillo y se podra ber." *Ibid.*

44. "Este dia salio el p^o Comiss^o del conu^{to} de la ysleta para yr al camino donde auia de hacer aquella noche jornada el g^{or} que ya estaba abisado de aquel personage q. yba con el g^{or} y dige arriba q. hacia a dos manos— a 13 del dho mes de ag^{to} entre dos luces dio el p^o Comiss^o albaço al g^{or} con casi quarenta pers^a todas bien armadas requiriole el p^o Comiss^o se diera preso el g^{or} no queria y el p^o Comiss^o dijo sea preso por el S^{to} off^o el g^{or} hiço sus diligencias pero no le valieron fue preso y traydo al Conu^{to} de Sandia por tenerle mas lejos de la Vy^a y mas seguro aunq. el p^o g^{an} fr Esteban de Perea lo repugno y sintio enpero aprobechole poco porque el p^o Comiss^o era el q. mandaba luego saco y tomo los papeles que el g^{or} llebaba y en reconocerlos todos y quitarle los q. al p^o Comiss^o, le tenian cuidadoso gasto desde catorce de ag^{to} a m^o dia hasta diez y seis del mesmo y llebandoselos el p^o Comiss^o le dejo en el dho conu^{to} preso con prisiones y tres Soldados y otros muchos naturales de aquel pu^o de guarda—

a 17 del dho ag^{to} se fueron el p^o Comiss^o y los demas religiosos Cap^{es} y Soldados q. se hallaron en prender al dho g^{or} al conu^{to} de S^{to} Domingo llebandose consigo preso el p^o Comis^o a un alcalde ordin^o de la Vy^a q. se llama don Ju^o Escarramad q. yba con el g^{or} y era su amigo y le tubo preso con grillos en el dho conu^{to} de S^{to} Domingo cerca de dos meses con arta Vejacion y menoscabo de su hacienda." *Ibid.*

45. "A 9 de Sept^{re} fue el p^o Comiss^o a la V^a donde dijo un dia de fiesta que el tenia preso al g^{or} y que de auello hecho esperaba gran premio y que ni mas ni menos le podian esperar los q. se auian hallado a prenderle. abomino lo hecho por el g^{or} reprehendio a los timidos y esforçolos para adelante y certificoles que les auia hecho un muy gran bien en quitarle los papeles al g^{or} porq. llebaba cosas q. les auian de dar arta pena y con ellos una carta que enbiaba a Zacatecas en q. les trataba de g^{to} de mezcilla dandoles palabra q. despues se la enbiaria como lo hiço y mando el p^o g^{an} a fr ger^{mo} de pedraça fuese de casa en casa mostrandola de que reciuieron arta pena h^{es} y mugeres y se indignaron de nuevo con el g^{or}." *Ibid.* ". . vn delito tan graue y tan atos como fue prender al gou^{or} y cap^{an} gen^l don P^o de peralta y tenerle un año preso en dho conbento de sandia y temiendo q. los uesinos le querian sacar y poner en su gouierno el prelado q. entonces era fr. hisidro hordoñes q. fue el q. le prendio a titulo de la santa ynquisicion sin ser comisario della se puso en el pulpito de la yglesia desta uilla con un cristo en las manos a enternesar la rreu^a con esclamaciones y disiendo que esperaua por aquella acsion de la prision ser premiado con una mitra." Statement by the Cabildo of Santa Fé, Jan. 14, 1639. A. G. P. M., Prov. Int., Tomo 35, Exped. 5.

46. *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.* There is another version of Peralta's escape in the Statement by the Cabildo of Santa Fé, Jan. 14, 1639, A. G. P. M., Prov. Int., Tomo 35, Exped. 5: ". . . y abiendose uido de la prision el dho gou^{or} y Cap^{an} general en el rrigor del ybierno fue a pie y medio desnudo cubierto con un Cuero de sibola como yndio a una estancia q. esta dos leguas del dho pueblo donde sabido por su carselero q. lo era el P^e fr. esteuan de perea fue con gran cantidad de yndios con arco y flecha y serco la dha estancia y aunq. no le hallo por entonses le bolbieron a prender en esta uilla desde donde le bolbieron a lleuar con grillos sentado en una bestia como muger asta el pueblo de Sandia q. era su prision q. esta catorse leguas lleuandole a su cargo el P^e fr. andres Juares digo el P^e fr. luis tirado al conbento desta uilla donde le bolbieron a prender con vos de la ynquisition."

51. *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

55. On July 7, 1616, the *oficiales reales* of Mexico paid to Peralta part of the salary due, but retained a balance of more than 1800 pesos pending final decision concerning his residencia. A. G. I., Contaduría 719. This balance was finally paid on November 28, 1617, following a certification,—“q se sentencio en Reuista en seis de otubre de DCXVII y que dio cuenta y satisfizo todo lo que fue a su cargo de tal gouernador y de las condenaciones que le fueran fhas . . .” *Ibid.*, Contaduría 720.

56. Codex Hisp. 79.

57. See Appendix II.

58. *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*

61. *Ibid.*

62. *Ibid.*

63. “Despues que el g^{or} Ber^{no} de Zaballos fue abriendo los ojos en la prouy^a con las cosas q. cada uno le contaba que auian pasado entre don P^o de p^{ta} y el p^e Comiss^o hablaba sin pepita lo que queria y le peso harto no auer enuiado al p^e fr Ys^o Ord^z con don P^o de peralta a la nu^a esp^a (como muchas beces lo decia) para escusar las pesadumbres q. ya empeçaban escriuiendose cartas el p^e Comiss^o y gⁿ culpandole al g^{or} el consentir tal y tal estancia que fue por donde hiço mal quisto a don P^o de p^{ta} para hacer con Zavallos lo q. con su antecesor el g^{or} ya estaba prebenido y era astuto y todo lo q. el p^e Comiss^o y gⁿ y otros le escreuián contra los españoles se lo mostraba y decia a ellos y así bian de donde salia el triunfo de aficion o desamor.”

64. “Por tiempo de dos años desde q. salio el g^{or} don P^o de p^{ta} hasta q. salio el p^e fr Ys^o ordz a la nueba esp^a nunca faltaron pleytos entre el p^e Comiss^o y el g^{or} como se bera por una carta q. ba en la visita escrita a tantos de Sept.^e de 1616 as.^o que el dho g^{or} escriuio al p^e Comiss^o con el p^e gⁿ fr Luis Tirado fueron ynfinitos los pleytos y las ocassiones que el dho p^e gⁿ dio al g^{or} hasta Venirle a matar al conu^{to} con un pistolete y dos soldados andubieron ocho dias disfrazados con arcabuces para matarle de noche al salir alas secretas a sus necesidades—grandes escandalos ubo que requerian otra tan grande memorial y relacion como esta para contarlos pero por podersele atribuir lo mesmo que se atribuia al p^e fr ysidro ordóñez predicandose delos dos un mesmo modo de proceder en todo y unas mesmas cosas otros las diran y yo no lo hare por q. e sido muy agrauiado deshorrado pu^a m^{te} y maltratado deste p^e gⁿ fr Luis Tirado y por que no se diga que la pasion me llega y me hace alargar lo deajo.” *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*

66. “A 17 de nob^e de 1614 hiço junta en la Vy^a el P^e Comiss^o de alg^{os} religiosos que alli pudo juntar comodam^{te} q. fueron el p^e fr P^o de haro gⁿ de nambe el p^e fr andres Bpta gⁿ de S^t Ylefonso el p^e fr Agustín de Burgos gⁿ de San Lazaro y el p^e gⁿ de la dha Vy^a y delante de ellos el dia sig^{te} despues de auer cenado m^{do} el p^e Comiss^o al p^e fr Alonso Peynado que digese las culpas y auriendolas dho como muy

relig^o que es començo el p^o Comiss^o a decir tales y tan malas palabras quales aun nouicio y que fuese conocidam^{te} sospechoso no se pudieran decir. El p^o fr A^o Peynado dijo q. le tratase bien que el no se conocia por aquel que decia entre estas y otras rraçones yntimo mucho el auer escrito la carta a n^{ro} R^{mo} P^o diciendo muchas cosas q. no yban en ella y callando las que yban—A esto le Voluio a decir el p^o fr A^o Peynado que digese Verdad en lo que yba diciendo que pues el no negaba que auia escrito aquella carta y las Verdades que contenia que no digese mas ni menos de lo que en ella estaba que aquello afirmaba auia hecho y mas a esto respondio el Comiss^o que mentia lebantase el Comiss^o y el S^{to} Viejo de las culpas y bienen a las manos apagase la candela los religiosos que a esso se llegaron se hallaron turbados que no sauian a quien ayudar ni a quien desayudar finalm^{te} los despartieron todos culpan al p^o Comiss^o solo el p^o g^{an} T^{do} simbolo y principio medio y fin de todos estos males. Ayudaba al p^o Comisario contra el S^{to} Viejo por auerle reprehendido alg^{as} cosas q. le estubieran bien al dho p^o g^{an} tomarlas como hijo y no defenderlas como obstinado y por ellas tratarle muy mal delante de seglares de que tomaron mal exemplo y se escandalizaron—El dia sig^{te} 19 de nob^{re} dia traça el p^o Comiss^o de q. saliese el p^o Comiss^o de q. saliese el p^o Viejo aunque no tenia ocasion ni podia ocasion just^a hecharle de la dha Vy^a donde amaban, estimaban, y regalaban al S^{to} Viejo por su anciandad gran religion y poca salud. enpero el por no dar lugar a cosas escudandolas pidio salir de alli para otro conu^{to} distante del de la Vy^a veinte leguas y aun pareciendole que no estaba alli seguro salio con artas lagrimas y sentim^{to} de todo el pueblo el quⁱ alcançando a sauer lo que auia pasado y quedando diciendo que desterraban aquel S^{to} Viejo el Comis^o y g^{an} porque queria bien a los españoles y los trataba con amor que es lo que siempre los dhos dos padres an sentido y aborrecido a los religiosos que lo hacen assi que quisieran los dos que a su ymitacion los demas los aperrearan trataran mal de ruines g^{te} ynfame y con otros nombres tales como estos o peores q. los tubieramos por ladrones y en las confesiones les hicieramos desear la absolucion.”

Ibid.

67. “Hice una pet^{on} pidiendole al p^o Comiss^o con toda la humildad posible me mostrase la patente de su off^o por cierta duda q. se me auia ofrecido escreuila—En este tiempo estaba el p^o Comiss^o en la Vy^a no quise yr alla porque auia de alborotar luego la gente y con lo que digera y hiciera temia no me boluiera a meter donde decia hasta perecer no aguarde a yr a suconv^{to} por el mesmo ynconbent^e no lo trate con los religiosos por la distancia delos lugares y no ser sentido y prim^o q. yo lo pidiese por pet^{on} me lebantase por pisar el sol que auia cometido un graue delito—fuime a aguardarle en una visita quatro leguas de la Vy^a de S^{ta} fee para presentarle alli mi peticion acertaron a hallarse en aquel pu^o doce españoles los quales llame para que fuesen test^{os} porque no me lebantase el p^o fr Ys^o que le salia a matar sali de la visita al encuentro y receuim^{to} del p^o Comiss^o y como aun tiro de arcabuz de alli por escusar si ubiera boces que no tomaran los yndios mal exemplo le suplique con toda humildad me oyese aquella pet^{on} preguntome que era la duda y causa para presentar aquella pet^{on} y pedille la patente de su off^o yo le dije una carta falsa que emos hallado con que VR. absoluió y hiço renunciar su oficio de Comiss^o a n^{ro} p^o fr Alonso Peynado dijo a esto pues p^o no bastara que muestre cartas de Virrey y oidores y otras pers^{as} y religiosos de n^{ra} pouy^a a esto le dije quanto mejor sera la patente que nos dira la Verdad quedo que la mostraria y con esto nos fuimos cada qual a su conv^{to} Luego otro dia hiço el p^o fr Xpobal de quiros me escriuiese y rogase dejase la demanda empeçada yo le respondi que pues en aquello no le pedia oca injusta que si era pre^{do} lo mostrase que no auia dificultad, sino lo era q. no le queria obedecer, otro dia sig^{te} me escriuió el mesmo Comiss^o rogandome no tratase dello todo esto me hacia perseuerar y procurar con muy grandes veras fuera Comiss^o o pre^{do} el que gustaban n^{ros} p^{es} y quien sus paternidades ubiesen nombrado por sus patentes al tercero dia hiço llamar los religiosos y alli a mi mostro una patente yo la ui y ley y hasta el dia de oy estoy incredulo de que fuese pre^{do} pues siendolo poca necesidad tenia de hacer aquella carta falsa y asi como me mostro la patente me m^{do} reclusar y otro dia me llebo

a su conuento de S^{to} Domingo donde me pudo poner en la estufa y hacer todo el mal que quisiera llebandolo por ter^{nos} tiranos que era lo que yo recelaua. pusonos a mi y a los otros dos religiosos en dos celdas y tratando con los demas religiosos q. se haria le aconsejo el p^e g^{an} de Sandia fr Esteban de Perea que hiciese ynformy^{on} de lo hecho y que substanciado el neg^o si me hallara culpado me castigara o me perdonara—el p^e Comiss^o trato el solo de quererlo hacer y que a el se atribuyese la honrra de la liberalidad y se le diesen las gracias y assi nos mando poner en forma de presos los dias en que en S^{to} Domingo estuvimos sin mas papeles ni informy^{on} q. lo dho—despues aca e sauido que en secreto hiço firmar una carta con sola su informacion o dho diciendo q. firmasen aquel papel para tenerme el pie sobre el pesqueço que el dicho p^e no me queria hacer mal empero para que si en algun T^{po} yo hablase pudiese mostrar aquel papel sin mas ynformy^{on} ni acusacion ni indicios ni mala fama de lo que el p^e Comiss^o quiso con su bu^a o mala conciencia poner—” *Ibid.*

68. Otro papel me an dho hiço tambien pidiendo firmas a religiosos el p^e fr. Xpobal de quiros auiendo leydo el papel (con ser un muy grande amigo suio) no le quiso firmar, lo propio el p^e fr Juan de Salas porque dijo que yba en el que yo defendia y tenia nuevas opiniones, otro me dijo que auia firmado, por persuasion diciendole el p^e Comiss^o que pues lo hacian otros tambien el lo hiciesse y assi lo hiço este relig^o dice q. leyo que los religiosos no llegaban a tres y que daban su parecer que yo saliese de la tierra este papel escriuio el p^e Comiss^o fr Ys^o Ord^z queriendo salir a Tierra de paz y yo con el por una licencia q. tenia de n^{ro} P^e fr Juan Zareta, yo no se en que estubo este engaño ni que penso el p^e Comiss^o q^{do} me concedio licencia para yr a la nu^a esp^a y para ello me hecho por tercero al p^e fr Juan de Salas hiço me deshacer de las cosas necesarias de mi pers^a y hiçome poner en camino y en el vlt^o conu^{to} finge que auia tenido como Reuelacion del cielo comun language suio y que era la Voluntad de Dios me quedase quisome quitar la patente y hacerme quedar por mal—Visto su pensamy^{to} y que segun era de Tirano y disoluto o absoluto prelado me quede diome una firmada de su n^e que podre mostrar para q. se bea la maldad de las cartas q. hiço firmar, dijome que queriendome quedar pudiese de la tierra lo que quisiese yo creo y otros lo creen assi no me quiso llebar por q. se auian de sauer estas Verdades que aqui estan escritas.” *Ibid.*

69. The departure of Pérez Guerta at this time is indicated by a letter of Francisco Pérez Granillo to the Holy Office, October 29, 1617, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 318, f. 477. No definite information exists concerning the date of the departure of Ordóñez, but it is reasonable to assume that he went with the caravan.

70. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316, ff. 183 v, 184.

71. The incomplete original manuscript of the trial record in the case of Escarramad is in *Diferentes Autos de molestias Hechas a los Vez^{os} de la N^a mex^{co} por los Religiosos y la soberania Con que Usen Juri^{don}* (1604-1639), A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas, Tomo 34, Exped. 1. A copy sent to the Holy Office by Perea in the autumn of 1617 is in A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316, ff 175-184. There are important differences in the two manuscripts which will be noted during the discussion of the case.

72. Pérez Guerta referred to the messenger as “Don Juan.” *Relación Verdadera*, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

73. Testimony of Juan Ruiz, April 18, 1617, and of Juan Gómez, June 30, 1617. *Diferentes Autos*, A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas, Tomo 34, Exped. 1.

74. *Ibid.*

75. “Vellacos, picaros, vigardos, ladrones.” Declaration of Juan Gómez, June 27, 1617. *Ibid.*

76. Perea gave Quiros authority to act as Judge-delegate in pending ecclesiastical cases on June 15, 1617. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 318, f. 491

77. A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas, Tomo 34, Exped. 1.

78. The text of the sentence is not given in the original manuscript of the trial record in *Diferentes Autos*, but a complete statement is found in the copy of the record in A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

79. *Diferentes Autos*, A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas, Tomo 34, Exped. 1.

80. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316, f. 183.

81. "Visto el auto y rrequerimiento arriva contenido por el señor almirante Ber^{no} de ceuallos dixo que lo oyo y que el dho p^e y demas rrelixiosos [decian?] lo que les conviene, y que su señoria se yra atras de los rrelixiosos si se fueren y ynformaran todos a su esex^a el s^{or} uirrey de la nueva españa de las cosas y estado destas prouincias, y que la causa no era de su rreuerencia el conocella sino como en buenos cristianos y poco temeroso de [blurred] falsamente. Por tanto a su s^a rrogamos nos De [torn] su s^a el conocella, y que a el no se mete en sus adjudicaturas, y que el R^e fr. cristoual no saue tener terminas en sus escritos y que sevastian de novoa no trate de cosa ni causa alguna ni le rreuuelva la tierra porque le castigara rrigurosamente porque el susodho a traydo todas estas cosas, y que se le notifique esta rrespuesta que lo cunpla y guarde donde no que le castigara, y pide su señoria se le de el auto y rrespuesta por testimonio autorisado en forma y lo firmo su señoria. Ber^{no} de ceuallos." *Diferentes Autos*, f. 15, 15v.

82. *Ibid.*

83. The *real provisión* has been published in English translation by L. B. Bloom in *NEW MEX. HIST. REV.*, V (1930), 288-298.

84. Testimony, with Perea's covering letter of Sept. 29, 1617 in A. G. P. M., Inquisición 318, ff. 398-495.

85. G. P. Hammond, *Don Juan de Oñate and the founding of New Mexico* (Santa Fé, 1927), *passim*; *Relación Verdadera* and Testimony against Márquez. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316.

86. Testimony against Márquez, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316; *Diferentes Autos*, A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas, Tomo 34, exped. 1.

87. The Inquisition?

88. Letter of Francisco Pérez Granillo, Paraje del Muerto, Oct. 29, 1617. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 318, f. 477.

APPENDIX I

Friar Francisco Pérez Guerta's Account of the Incident of July 9, 1613

Este propio día (8 de Julio) en la tarde mando el p^e g^{an} de la Vy^a sacar arina para amasar pan y la harina fue con exceso y por serlo dio que pensar en la casa donde se auia de amasar y deseo de sauer la causa al que traya la harina que era un muchacho de la yglesia español el qual sauia q. venian los religiosos y assi dijo q. para este efecto era. El dia sig^{te} martes 9 del dho mes fue bien de mañana a casa del g^{or} un Vz^o llamado Ju^o Lujan el qual preguntado por el g^{or} de las cosas nuevas q. auia o sauia respondio lo que y es q. ayer en la tarde llebaron a mi casa cant^d grande de harina para pan y preguntando mi muger para que trayan tanta junta respondio el muchacho bienen muchos frailes, y lo q. se decir mas es que oy decir a Asensio de arechuleta el not^o q. se auian de juntar los frailes para prender a VS. Luego al punto el g^{or} hiço llamar a todos los Vz^{os} q. biniesen a su casa con sus armas, lo qual hicieron los que entonces se hallaron en la V^a sin sauer para que. Despues q. los tubo juntos les represento el deseo que el P^e Comiss^o tenia de prenderle como constaba por aquella carta que el p^e perguer g^{an} de S^t laçaro le auia enuiado q. se la hiço leer a los dhos Vz^{os}, y como lo auia dho en la yglesia el domino pasado, y como otras beces lo auia dho a otras personas q. le auia de prender sin declararles mas su pensamy^{to} ni lo que auia de hacer. Tras esto probeio el g^{or} un auto y le m^{do} pregonar en q. mandaba no embiasen al conu^{to} comida pan ni camas. Luego m^{do} a su S^o q. tomase papel y tinta y todos juntos con el g^{or} binieron al conu^{to}. Este día por la mañana andaba gran ruydo de los hombres antes de juntarse en casa del g^{or} y auiendo de ser uno de los que abian de yr a la casa del g^{or} y a su mandato bar^{me} Romero, Viniendo el dho Romero benia su muger a la yglesia a misa y abiendo visto el ruido que andaba y el peligro q. podia auer entro en la iglesia llorando y dando boces mobiendo a lastima a las demas mugeres. El p^e Comiss^o acabaua de ponerse en el altar y la muger llamada Doña Lucia no teniendo atencion a que estaba el p^e Comiss^o donde la podia oir començo a culparle y aun a maldecir la suerte de su off^o pues les ponía en aquellas tribulaciones y otras muchas palabras que fue mucho decirlas la dha muger por ser muy prudente callada honesta y muy debota. El p^e Comiss^o yritado con aquellas raçones se boluio a ella y la dijo q. Callase con otras palabras que hasta oy tiene que sentir. En este tiempo que esto sucedia en la yglesia estaba yo mirando desde la porteria el tropel de los soldados y aunque preguntaba que era en

lo que andaban, o que significaba tanta priesa tantas armas y tan juntos no ubo quien me digese nada porque con las cosas q. auia todos nos mostraban mala cara, y asi fuy de la porteria a donde estaba el p^e g^{an} fr luis Ti^{do} fr andres Xuarez y el her^{no} fr ger^{mo} de Pedraça en la guerta y les dige, mucho mal creo a de auer que no se que anda en el pueblo que esta ynquieto. Voluiose el p^e g^{an} a mi con colera notandome de gallina y temeroso. Yo calle y disimule y pregunte que se estaba tratando. Fueseme dho Como el p^e g^{an} se determinaba con un machete yrle a matar las terneras de sibola al g^{or}. Estando diciendo estas palabras bimos entrar por la porteria gente armada y con ella al g^{or} con cota, espada en la cinta y en ella un pistolete y en la mano una pistola larga. Fuimos todos quatro hacia la puerta del conu^{to} y alli nos pusimos aguardando que el g^{or} llegase. Llego donde estabamos que era en el patio de la puerta de la libreria y alli quitandose cortesam^{te} el sombrero preg^{to} donde esta el p^e Comisario? El p^e g^{an} fr. Luis Ti^{do} le respondió diciendo, estaba misa, podra ser q. la aya acabado. Suplico a Vr. le m^{de} llamar dijo el g^{or}. El p^e Tirado lleo a la puerta de la libreria, dijo en boz alta p^e Comiss^o aqui llama a Vr. el g^{or} El p^e Comiss^o salio por la dha puerta al patio de la casa y biendo la disposicion q. la g^{te} traia Voluio a entrar—y de un rincon tomo un bordon de m^a asta que alli estaba y diciendo, para este desbenturado este basta, salio con el en la mano. El g^{or} le quito el sombrero y en el ynter dijo el p^e Comiss^o que quiere VS. Respondio el g^{or}, p^e Comiss^o a VP. requiero de parte de su Mag^d que oy en este dia se baya a su conu^{to} y mande a los religiosos q. a enuiado a llamar q. se esten en sus dotrinas porq. esto conuiene. A esto resp^o el p^e Comiss^o Sor es berdad q. yo e enbiado a llamar los religiosos pero es para neg^o q. Conbiene. En este punto se aparto con poco religiosas palabras de nosotros el p^e fr Luis T^o y entro alla dentro en la libreria y andando como buscando armas dijo a perro a Traydor—El g^{or} que era timido y Traia los ojos como de lince uido andar al p^e de aquella manera y oyo decir perro. Dijo el g^{or}, perro—Voto a Dios q. sepa yo matar un frayle. Entonces alço la pistola y le hecho el gatillo que asta entonces no le traia hechado y luego mando a dos Soldados entrasen y sacasen las armas que auia—El p^e Comiss^o les mando por descomu^{on} que no entrasen. El g^{or} les apunto con la pistola. El comiss^o los tenia y finalm^{te} entraron y no hallaron armas. Boluio despues de todo esto el g^{or} a decir, p^e Comiss^o, mire q. le requiero q. VP. se baia oy en este dia a su conu^{to} de S^{to} Domingo y haga lo q. le m^{do} dejandome en paz y a esta V^a. A esto resp^o el p^e Comiss^o q. no lo pensaba hacer que en su casa se estaba y voluiendose a los Vz^{os} les dijo, Vsms. a q. bienen aqui—no saben q. son vasallos de esta yglesia, y el g^{or} dijo a esto q. se engañaba en aquello y auiendo de la una y otra p^{te} palabras y boces acometio a alçar el baston que

dige auia sacado el p^e Comiss^o en la mano para dar con el al g^{or} pero dicen q. se le tubo Juan Lujan soldado y Voluiendose al g^{or} le dijo—VS saue con quien se toma y el g^{or} resp^o, q. le parecia q. con fr. Ysidro Ord^z, y el p^e Comiss^o le dijo no se toma sino con toda la orden y hechandose mano de la Barba juro diciendo, por uida de Fr. Ys^o que os tengo de destruir q. bien parece q. no saue VS. en la que le tengo metido. El g^{or} resp^o en que me puede tener metido q. yo no sepa. a esto respondio el p^e Comiss^o no saue, ye el p^e g^{an} de la mesma manera, no saue, y Voluiendo el g^{or} a decirle al p^e Comiss^o que hiciera lo q. le mandaba de yrse a su conuento. A esto dijo el P^e Comiss^o pues puede VS. mandarme a mi. El g^{or} dijo si y hecharle dos pares de grillos. Alguacil trayga dos pares de grillos. Traygan ocho dijo el p^e Comiss^o y no oy mas palabra, porque el g^{or} dijo aqui del Rey se apreso hechandole mano de la Capilla el p^e Comiss^o le hecho mano de la ropilla el p^e fr Luis T^{do} por otro lado y el p^e fr. Andres Xuarez, y assi andando assidos se aparto el p^e fr. Luis T^{do} a sacarle a un Soldado la espada de la bayna y Voluiendo sin ella le arranco al g^{or} una manga del capotillo y el otro religioso entro en una celda a Vuscar armas y saco un haxon conque se tañe musica—Andando de esta manera yba alçando el p^e Comiss^o el palo para descargarselo en la cabeça al g^{or} q. la tenia oprimida y harto llegada al suelo. Yo que estaba mirando estas cosas de afuera q^{do} el p^e Comiss^o como dige yba alçando el palo llegue tenelle y en aquel punto el g^{or} aduirtiolo y tambien yba alçando la pistola q. tenia en las manos y alçandola como q. queria dar con ella al p^e Comiss^o, se la tubieron por detras el Secret^o y otro. Voluio con enojo el g^{or} y soltandola el q. la auia tenido como tiro el g^{or} jurare que no fue en su mano dispararse la pistola porq. ni fue Vista ni casi oida con el alboroto de boces y rruido hasta q. Cayo el religioso lego herido. Esto duraria por espacio de dos credos cantados. Luego ceso todo. Los españoles apartaron al g^{or} y nosotros nos pusimos a cuidar de n^{ro} herido. Fue tan grande el escandalo y confussion y labrimas de las mugeres q. mas es para encomendarlo a Dios y rogarle no entre en juicio con quien fue la causa que de tratar mas de esta lastimosa materia.

Este dho dia 9 de Jullio en q. fue este suceso hiço llamar el p^e Comiss^o a todos los que auian benido con el g^{or} y a cada uno de por si los fue absoluiendo salbo al armero no quiso absolver por q. saliendo tambien herido de la municion q. derramo la pistola del g^{or} salio el dho hombre culpando al p^e Comiss^o de lo sucedido, y porque despues en una ynformy^{on} que el dho g^{or} mando se hiciesse culpaba el dho armero al dho padre Comiss^o, estando enfermo y peligroso este dho hombre y pedia confesion, ni confesion ni absolucion no le quisieron dar el p^e Comiss^o ni g^{an} del R^l. Este mesmo dia mando el P^e Comiss^o pusiesen a la puerta de la yglesia al g^{or} por pu^{co} descomulgado y despacho el p^e

Comiss^o a los religiosos q. benian a la Villa fuesen a S^{to} Domingo para donde despues de consumido el sacram^{to} santiss^{mo} del Sagrario y cerrada la Yglesia y la Sacristia a piedra y lodo sin quedar religioso nos partimos todos con el p^e Comiss^o por su mandato.

Relación Verdadera, A. G. P. M. Inquisición 316.

APPENDIX II

The New Mexico missions had been supervised by the Commissary-General of the Franciscans of New Spain and the Provincial of the Province of the Holy Evangel, to whom the local commissaries were responsible. It was customary, however, for a new mission area to be set up as a *custodia*, or semi-independent administrative area, as soon as a sufficient number of convents were established. The prelate of such an area was called a custodian (*Custodio*), and his duties and powers were essentially the same as those of a provincial of an independent province, subject, of course, to supervision by the province to which the *custodia* was attached. It is not clear whether the appointment of Perea with the title of custodian was due primarily to a decision that the New Mexico missions had reached the stage where local autonomy was justified, or to the belief that, in view of the seriousness of the situation in New Mexico, the prelate should have the greater dignity and authority that the title of custodian implied. There is some justification for thinking that the appointment was the result of an emergency, for Perea was named by the Commissary-General rather than by the *definitorio* of the Province of the Holy Evangel which, later on, exercised the power of appointment. In any case, by choosing Perea the Commissary General gave responsibility to a mature and experienced friar who had not been a violent partisan of Ordóñez. The exact date of Perea's appointment is not known. In my article, "Problems in the early ecclesiastical history of New Mexico," *NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW*, VII (1932), 32-74, I discussed Perea's statement that he had been "superior prelate" of New Mexico three times and identified these periods, as follows: (1) Commissary, 1614; (2) Custodian, 1616-17 to 1621; (3) Custodian, 1629-1631. Identification of the first period was based on Zárate Salmerón's statement that Perea was "Commissary of those Provinces" when the bones of Friar Francisco López were found at Puaráy in 1614. *Ibid.*, p. 50. The dates for the second period were based on an accumulation of data from various sources. *Ibid.*, 47-64. Perea's own *Relaciones* dealing with certain events of his terms as custodian beginning in 1629 had long been known. Pérez Guerta's *Relación Verdadera* makes it clear that Ordóñez, not Perea, was commissary in 1614. Consequently Zárate Salmerón's phrase, "Commissary of those provinces," evidently means that Perea was in charge of missions

among the Tiwa pueblos, not commissary of *all* the New Mexico missions. There are other instances of the use of the word commissary to designate the friar in charge of some part of the Pueblo area. But how was Perea prelate twice during the early period, i. e. prior to 1621? The Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Inquisición, leg. 1228, núm. 3, has a document entitled, "*Mem^a del P^e frai Esteban de perea custodio que a sido de nuebo mex^{co} 1629*", which contains information concerning Perea's *limpieza de sangre* requested by the Holy Office of Mexico in 1627. It contains the following statement: "Memoria de los Padres y aguelos (naturaleça y off^o) del P^e fr. esteuan de Perea, predicador, y cust^o q. a sido dos ueces de las prouincias del nueuo mexico. la primera ues por n. p^e frai xpoual Ramirez Comiss^o g^l de estas yndias y despues continuando por n. p^e fr. diego de otalora comis^o g^l tambien de estas yndias." Now Friar Cristóbal Ramírez was Commissary General of New Spain during the years 1612-1617, and Friar Diego de Otalora for the years 1618-1622. (Fr. Francisco Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa, *Bezerro General Menológico y cronológico de todos los Religiosos...en esta St. Prov^a del S^{to} Evang^o...Ayer* Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.) It appears, therefore, that Perea's first two terms as prelate were by appointment by these two Commissaries General, and that they cover the period I assigned to the second term in my article cited above. It is logical to assume that the appointment by Friar Cristóbal Ramírez was made sometime between the arrival of Peralta in Mexico in the winter or spring of 1615 and the departure of the mission supply caravan for New Mexico in the summer or early autumn of 1616. (For data concerning the supply caravan, see A. G. I., Contaduría 718, 845 A-B.) This supply train arrived in New Mexico not later than January, 1617, because we have a copy of a *poder* signed by Perea as custodian, dated at Santa Fé, January 30, 1617. (A. G. P. M., Inquisición 316, ff. 183 v. 184.) The re-appointment of Perea to the custodianship by Friar Diego de Otalora, who served as Commissary General from 1618 to 1622, may have been made during the year 1618 and the patient sent with Gov. Juan de Eulate who arrived in New Mexico in December, 1618.

BOURKE ON THE SOUTHWEST, VIII

Edited by LANSING B. BLOOM

Chapter XV

FIRST VISIT TO THE NAVAHO

THE search for ethnological material among the native peoples of the Southwest took Lieutenant Bourke into some regions with which he had hitherto had no acquaintance. As a result of General Hatch's invitation,¹ he spent some days late in April, 1881, at Fort Defiance; and then after a quick trip back to departmental headquarters at Omaha, he returned to western New Mexico and spent most of May in work at the pueblo of Zuñi, and in a second trip to the Navaho agency.

To those who know the Southwest of today, Bourke's observations contain much of absorbing interest. His notes give a composite view of the country and the people as he saw them over fifty years ago, yet he made very little use of this Navaho and Zuñi material.² In his published work he restricted himself largely to the study of the Apaches and the Hopi, and one reason for this clearly was the fact that he found men like Frank Cushing and Washington Matthews already well advanced in their studies of the Zuñi and Navaho peoples.

[April 22, 1881] . . . At 3 p. m., Gen'l Hatch, Colonel Bennett and myself took the Atchison, Topeka and Santa Fé train for Lamy, 22 miles. The day was lovely and the ride enjoyable. At Lamy, we changed cars for Albuquerque, our chances for observing the country being much narrowed by the gloom of the evening. We rode through a very interesting region—one filled with the villages of the Pueblo Indians—all of which I hope to be able to visit this summer. Among these were San Domingo, San Felipe, and Ysleta—all prom-

1. See N. MEX. HIST. REV., X, 306.

2. Cf. the Bourke bibliography in *ibid.*, VIII, 11-15. Some of his Zuñi notes may be found in *The Snake Dance of the Moqui*.

inent and interesting. A number of the young men from San Domingo boarded our train to sell specimens of what they called "chalchuitl" (turquoise) of which I purchased three pieces. It is not genuine turquoise, but rather an impure malachite (carbonate of copper). Turquoise is chemically a phosphate of alumina, colored with oxide of iron and oxide of copper, giving it a sky blue tint. The real turquoise, however, is found in New Mexico and is held at an extravagant valuation by *all* the Indians of the South-West.

We were glad to exchange the crowded cars of the Topeka and Santa Fé Road for the caboose of a freight train on the Atlantic and Pacific at Albuquerque;³ but we found very soon to our sorrow that in avoiding Scylla we had run upon Charybdis. The conductor kindly made down for us rough berths in the corners, but we had no covering; the car was jammed with passengers most of them smoking villainous pipes; the air became foul, and to complete the list of discomforts a wild-eyed young man became possessed of the idea that the stove needed more fuel and in a trice had it red hot. Every one was too sleepy to get up and too indifferent to comfort to try to mend matters. The conductor left the door open for an hour to aid in the ventilation; he ventilated our feet and ankles so thoroughly that when morning broke, half a dozen of us had such beastly colds we couldn't speak above a whisper. We had by that time reached "Crane's station," the terminus of the road and all tumbled out to get a cup of coffee and a sandwich in a "saloon," doing business in a tent alongside the track. The coffee was quite good and the sandwiches fresh; the shaggy haired men behind the bar were courteous and polite in their demeanor and reasonable in the charges, all of which is more than can be said of a great many hash-factories I have patronized in my travels.

3. The old "Atlantic and Pacific Railroad" was chartered by congress in July, 1866, to build a line along the 35th parallel to the Pacific coast. By 1872, this company had leased and consolidated about 844 miles of smaller lines, principally in Missouri, but because of debt it had to sell about a third of its mileage in 1876. Then a newly formed "St. Louis and San Francisco Company" bought the old line and, under the original charter, planned to build westward. In December 1879, the "A. T. & S. F." made a deal with the "Frisco" to build jointly west from Albuquerque and these two companies created a new "Atlantic and Pacific Company," of which the central division extended from Vinita, Indian Territory, to Albuquerque. By the final agreement made January 31, 1880, the western division was to be constructed immediately from Albuquerque to the coast. Work began the following summer and by July, 1881, 200 miles were completed and the tracks had crossed into Arizona. See Coan, *History of New Mexico*, I, 446.

April 23rd, 1881. Saturday. From Crane's, the Railroad extends still farther some 30 miles, but is not yet in a condition to do business; travel is done in freight cars alone, as far as Fort Wingate, and from there nothing but gravel and construction cars are permitted on the line.

We were favored with a perfect day; a sky without a flaw and a sun bright and warm enough to inspire but not to enervate. The scenery in its components could not strictly be called beautiful. The foot-hills were covered liberally with scrub oak and cedar; bold bluffs of red sandstone, carved by sand laden winds into all sorts of fantastic shapes, frowned upon us from the Right, like a long line of gloomy, castellated fortifications. The plains were covered with stunted sage-brush and as said before no single part could be regarded as beautiful but they blended so softly that the general effect of the landscape was far from disagreeable.

At the terminus we were almost 40 miles from Fort Wingate, so plainly visible on the skirt of the hill that we could scarcely believe it to be more than a few moments walk away.

It is at the Ojo del Oso (Bear Spring), and at present is garrisoned by 8 companies of the 13th Infantry and 9th Cavalry, commanded by General Bradley, in whose temporary absence Major Van Horn presided. We were kindly taken care of by the different officers, Captains Clift, McArthur, and Auman of the 13th, Parker of the 9th Cav'y., Asst. Surgeon Torney, Lts. Chance, Bishop, Fornance, Olmstead, Griffith, Holmes, Scott, Parker and Hughes, and Lt. Wotherspoon, 12th Infantry, enroute from his post in Arizona. Some of them I had met before, especially, Olmstead, Griffith and Fornance, cadets in a class below me at the Academy.

De Courcey took me around the post on a very interesting promenade, including the sutler's store, where my national pride was aroused by the display of goods of the *very best quality*, and put up in excellent style. These included raisins, almonds, figs, olives, honey, preserves, pickles, canned salmon and other fish and all varieties of wines and liquors, all of California production.

This store is peculiar in having a private room for ladies' shopping, a feature to be commended to other military traders. The proprietor, Mr. Hopkins, evidently understands his business.

The fine band of the 13th Infantry gave General Hatch a serenade this afternoon, the selections being good and the performance excellent.

April 24th, 1881. Sunday. After Guard Mounting and Inspection, during which latter General Hatch closely examined the gun of every soldier and afterwards the arrangement and police of the quarters; we started for the Navajo Agency at Fort Defiance, Arizona. We had another lovely day for our journey and a very good team of mules. For the first twelve miles, there was not much to notice beyond the titanic blocks of sand stone piled up into great hills, one of the most peculiar being the spire called the Navajo Church, a land mark distinguishable for a number of miles in every direction.

The ranch at the Mineral Spring (ferruginous) 12 m. from Wingate furnished our relay, which had been sent out from the post the day previous. We had an unusually good road, over an elevated rolling country of an average altitude of 7000' above tidewater. The Bluffs still continued to be well covered with piñon and scrub cedar, but the almost total absence of water was painfully noticeable. 25m. from Wingate, rested our team for an hour while we lunched. Erected a monument of a beef can and two beer bottles to commemorate our occupancy of the country and resumed our course (due West.)

30 m. from Wingate, came to a singular formation of sandstone, called the "haystacks"; these are three immense boulders of sandstone, 200' above ground and named in accordance with their shape. In front of these is the "natural bridge," a stone archway, spanning a chord of not less than 75' horizontal, with a "rise" of nearly 200'.

Farther on were grim palisades of columnar basalt, with mounds of the same rock and "dunes" of coarse red sand, in which no doubt a considerable percentage of disintegrated lava could be found. Through the sand-stone bluffs, seams of coal protruded.

Our proximity to the Navajo Agency was indicated by an occasional corral of stone or an abandoned "hogan." (When a Navajo dies his house or "hogan" is always abandoned.) On the summit of a favorably-situated hill we were shown by Col. Bennett, the decayed fence of brush wood, formerly enclosing the "antelope run," made by these Indians for hemming in antelope and deer.

Old Fort Defiance 10 mi. across the Arizona line was reached at sun-down, so I reserve a description of it until making up the record of tomorrow.

Here I met the post-trader, Mr. Leonard, an old friend of former days in Arizona, who without delay or ceremony escorted us to his kitchen whose presiding genius was a full-blooded Navajo Indian, answering to the Mexican name of "Francisco." Kitchen and dining room as well as pantry were all in one, and our conveniences were, as might be expected under the circumstances, of the simplest description; but the hospitality was genuine and the cooking unexceptionable. We had beef boiled in great big chunks, but boiled well, good bread, butter fresh from the Mormon settlements, 50 miles West, canned pears, good warm tea and excellent rice pudding. We devoured our meal with great relish and praised Francisco to the skies.

A good sleep refreshed us after our long ride and we were ready for the business of sight-seeing when we awakened on the morning of

April 25th, Monday. The first thing claiming my attention was the wretched position, in a military point of view, of the Navajo Agency formerly Fort Defiance. It is at the Eastern entrance of the Cañon Bonito and so closely pressed by the vertical walls of the cañon that no defense could be long continued were the Indians to become hostile. Indeed, I had pointed out to me the door in which the wife of an army officer was shot dead by an Indian in the cliffs, at a time when the garrison comprised four companies of regular troops. Several other cases equally as bad are on record, but this one impressed me most vividly.

Of the post, in its present condition, only a few meagre sentences need be written; it is of adobe in an advanced stage of decay, not one of the buildings being suitable for occupancy, and none possessing any of the halo of former value supposed to be inseparable from the ruins of antiquity. It is a collection of old dilapidated mud, pig sties and sheep pens and nothing more. Being the agency of the Navajoes, it is of the utmost importance and should be maintained in better repair. The Navajoes, according to Colonel Bennett, number not far from 20,000, own 30,000 ponies and about 1,500,000 sheep! They are from their wealth, intelligence, compactness and the inaccessible nature of the country they inhabit, the worst band of Indians to have in a state of hostility, if we drive them to it, as the indifference and neglect

of our government will surely do if a change of method be not soon effected. All this will appear farther on in proper place, as well as a more detailed account of the Navajoes, their manners, customs, &c. than I am now about to give.

In personal appearance, they are strikingly like the Apaches whose language they speak, but they differ from them in being better dressed and in showing the refining influences of lives of greater ease and comfort. Several of the children I saw coming into the Agency, (this is vacation day) would be considered beautiful anywhere. Their foreheads were broad and high, eyes beautiful and expressive and countenances frank and bold. The dress of the women is very beautiful and closely similar to the costume of their Shoshonee and Bannock sisters; the material is different, the Navajoes using blankets, but the cut is almost identical. When the young Navajo belle is especially high-toned, the blankets have a blue or black body, with deep border of scarlet at bust and knees; or to be more exact, the middle third is blue, and the upper and lower thirds scarlet, the two blankets fastened at shoulders and sides exactly as is the costume of the Bannock and Shoshonee women. This is bound around the waist by a girdle of worsted work, like that used by the Zunis & Moquis, while garters of same material sustain the silver-buttoned leggings of black buck skin.

Both men and women are passionately fond of silver ornaments and being good workers in that metal, it need surprise no one to be told that many of the grown men and women, more particularly the former, are fairly loaded down with it. It is used as ear-rings, great circular loops, each containing at least one trade dollar; as belts, to gird about the waist, as sashes, to run across the breast and shoulder, as rings, as bangles (not infrequently can be seen a squaw with ten and eleven on each arm) as buttons to moccasins, leggings and last, but by no means least, to encrust their saddles and bridles. They make it into fantastic necklaces which contest the supremacy of their affections with chalcuhtl and red coral, the latter brought into the country during the Mexican domination. A few elk tusks can be found, and still fewer sea shells and mother of pearl, the last perhaps obtained from the Zunis who are said to make long pilgrimages every four or five years to the waters of the Pacific Ocean.

On my way to the store, I observed a man knitting and was told that a considerable percentage of the tribe possessed this accomplishment. The squaws of the Navajo and Apache blood are noted for their small feet: one of them taken at random had on a loose moccasin corresponding to a No. 3 shoe, and, upon weighing her, we discovered that she turned the scale at 115 lbs.

Although this is the regular issue day, not over a thousand Indians all told appeared at the Agency; the majority, no doubt, preferring to remain away with their sheep-herds to making a weary ride merely for the scant supplies doled out to them. A party had just gotten in from the La Plata, in the Ute country; one of the squaws had a brand new buffalo robe which she told me was from the Oo-tay (Utes).

The scene in the store was in the extreme animated and picturesque, altho' the old den was so dark that upon first entering it was difficult to distinguish the mass of parti-colored blankets, men, squaws and papposes pressed against the counter. The Navajoes are keen at a bargain and as each unpacked his ponies and ripped open the blankets full of wool he had brought to market, he acted as if he knew its value and meant to get it. Mr. Leonard said that last year he purchased 250,000 lbs. and this season expects to buy a greater quantity.

One of the old bucks in the store wore suspended by a chain from his waist belt, a silver tobacco pouch of simple but tasteful workmanship.

By this time the Indian "crier" had set up a fearful gabbling, yelling and screaming at top of his voice to let all know that it was time to draw rations. I should state to make things clear that at Fort Defiance there are two corrals, the Navajoes being in front of the store which is in the outer corral. Colonel Bennett and his assistants took station at the entrance of the inner corral, and as each head of family filed by handed over the tickets representing the amount of food due. The column surged along, a steady stream of whinnying ponies, each with its cargo of humanity; some bore only a painted and jewelled warrior; others, only a squaw with a pappoose slung in its cradle to her back and others again had two and three youngsters perched from withers to croup, all jabbering, laughing and calling out in their own language. I was very careful to note closely all that transpired under my post of observation (the top of the gate). I am certain that at least a dozen of the

children I saw riding by could not have been four years old and one little toddler, scarcely able to keep on his own pins was unconcernedly leading a gentle old pony through the mass of Indians, dogs, burros and horses crowding about him. The scene was essentially barbaric, the dresses of the riders gorgeous and fantastic and the trappings of the ponies jingling with silver. None of the throng wore a hat—men and women wearing the hair alike—that is brushed smoothly back behind the ears and gathered into a knot above shoulders; a bandana handkerchief or fillet of some kind keeping it in position. The display of coral and turquoise beads was something to excite astonishment, while those who were not the fortunate possessors of such heirlooms contented themselves with strands of silver *hemispheres* and balls of copper. Only pure metal is employed by the Navajo; plated ware, he rejects at once. Their *chalcuitl* beads are made by slicing the turquoise into narrow plates and boring these with *flint*. This boring is done by the Indians of Zuni, Santo Domingo &c. from whom the Navajoes purchase the beads. No amount of money will persuade an Indian to surrender one of these necklaces, and when pressed for cash, they will *pawn* them at the traders, but the pledge is always redeemed promptly at the expiration of the term specified. As may be imagined without saying, the riding of these people was simply perfect; they use the flat Turkish stirrup and do not always appear graceful in their seat, but they are *there*, nevertheless.

It took over an hour to issue the tickets, some of the Indians being very dilatory in appearing: after that it took 2 or 3 hours more to distribute the rations. These are shamefully inadequate; there are 20,000 Navajoes, for whose subsistence the Government has provided very meagre supplies. I counted the wheat on hand (69) sixty-nine bags, each of one hundred pounds—or a total of less than 7000 pounds to last the whole tribe until June 30th. The amount was so utterly out of proportion to the needs of the case that at first I was certain that this wheat must be intended for *seed*, but Colonel Bennett corrected my error and told me that he feared for the worst unless prompt measures were taken to send in sufficient food before summer.

While the Interior Department has persistently neglected the Navajoes, it has showered favors upon their neighbors, the Utes and Apaches, much to the dissatisfac-

tion of the former who feel that their long period of good behavior and their efforts at self-maintenance entitle them to recognition. A comparison of the sums of money and amounts of supplies allotted to the Apaches, Utes and Navajoes respectively during the past year would occasion surprise to any reflecting mind. For all purposes the agent of the Navajoes has only \$75,000 per annum, about 1/3 of what they should have.

The Agent displaced by Colonel Bennett, was a Mr. Eastman, a psalm-singing hypocrite whom the Navajoes despised and detested and whom they tried to kill. This Eastman had *on paper* a Boarding School for Indian children, of which he wrote glorious accounts to the Sabbath-school papers and which I visited.

It consisted of one miserable squalid dark and musty adobe dungeon, not much more capacious than the cubby hole of an oyster schooner: it was about 12x10x7 in height. No light ever penetrated but one window let darkness out from this den and one small door gave exit to some of the mustiness; Eastman reported that he had accommodations for *sixty children*, but I saw only nine (9) cottonwood bunks, in which, if he made them double up, eighteen little children could be made wretched. It surpassed in cold-blooded disregard of the comfort of his scholars anything I have ever read of *Dotheboy's Hall* or of Rev. Mr. Crowley's *Shepherd's Fold*.

The Navajo chiefs became indignant at this outrage and withdrew their children from the unworthy Agent's care.

I had a long conversation with Mr. Damon, the Agency farmer and with Jesús, the Agency interpreter, relative to obtaining information bearing upon the Navajoes, but as something may occur to prevent me from coming again to this country I deem it only prudent to insert here the answers to the questions asked during this long interview. Mr. Damon has been Agency farmer since 1868 and Jesús was a captive among the Apaches before coming to live with the Navajoes.

The answers under Section II correspond so closely with those obtained from the Shoshonees and Bannocks that it is not worth while to repeat them here.⁴

4. In gathering ethnological data, Bourke follows the "sections" of the outline which he had prepared. (See N. Mex. Hist. Rev., X, 281) The titles of the sections are as follows: I- Tribes; II- Births; III- Dress and Personal Adornment; IV- Toys, Games, Musical Instruments and Modes of Recreation; V- Personal Appearance; VI- Marriage and Divorce; VII- Residences; VIII- Implements and Uten-

Section III will be described in detail on next visit.⁵

Their dresses are generally of woolen goods, woven by themselves, or of buckskin which is generally stained black. Their moccasins are made without toe-shields and button over the instep like our low quarter gaiters.

Their neck-laces, bracelets, bangles and ear-rings are, as said above, of coral, chalchuitl, or silver, sea-shells and malachite are seen at times, but silver may be regarded as the typical Navajo ornament. The ear-ring is inserted at the lower extremity of the lobe only; is made in the form of a simple solid ring and is fastened by a sliding button at bottom . . . They make no use of masks, nose-rings, nose-sticks or labrets, arrange the hair in the simple way already described and freely apply vermillion or red ochre to the cheek-bones and fore-head. They are clean, lithe and muscular in appearance, handsome and intelligent in the face and nearly all understand more or less Spanish. Some of them speak Spanish fluently, notably Francisco, our cook of last night. Others again, as Captain Jack, one of General Hatch's principal scouts, converse freely in Navajo, Spanish, and English.

Section IV. Their children have about the same toys as those of the Shoshonees and also play with arrows—the game of “odd or even” only here 100 tally sticks are used instead of 40 as among the Shoshonees—the game of the Apaches played by casting a bundle of colored sticks against a flat stone and determining the value of the cast by the position of the fallen sticks with reference to a circumscribing circles of pebbles. The game of shinny, the game of foot-ball, and a maniac burlesque upon “Base Ball.”

The men and women are inveterate gamblers, and play with dexterity both kinds of “monte” and “cancan.” I looked at two or three games of monte to-day; the stakes ran as high as two or three silver dollars on a side. Their musical instruments to call them such, differ in no essential particular from those of the Shoshonees, but I was unable to find out that they ever used fiddles, made of the stalk of the century plant, as their blood relations the Apaches do. Both

sils of War and Peace; IX- Food; X- Colors, Dyes, Paints and Powders; XI- Standards of Measurements and Value; XII- Kinship; XIII- Tribal Government; XIV- War Customs; XV- Therapeutics; XVI- Mortuary Customs; XVII- Religion, Superstitions and Myths; XVIII- Miscellaneous.

5. The second visit will be related in Chapter XVIII below.

Mr. Damon & Jesus contended that their songs had no words to them; but were merely sounds.

Section V. They paint only the face in the manner herein described.

[Sec. VI] Girls marry at any time after ten, 12 to 15 being the more general average. The ceremony attending a girl's entrance to womanhood consists of a feast, where her parents can afford it, and much singing by the matrons. The young lady is decked with beads and other ornaments which she wears constantly for four or five days. Before marriage, girls assist their mothers in all household duties and where they assume the duties of wives, everything in the way of work that they can do, they do cheerfully. The men are good workers too and hire themselves out, whenever they can, to make adobes, herd sheep, or, at present date, to grade tracks for the Atlantic and Pacific R. R. Marriage is largely a question of purchase, but at times, strong-willed or impecunious young men seize their sweet-hearts and carry them off by main force. They are polygamists to the extent of their inclinations and ability to support their wives. They marry a brother's widow, or have the first refusal of her hand. Divorces are a matter of mutual convenience and may be permanent or transient; slight disagreements often eventuate in separation, in which case the woman takes with her all that she brought to her husband.

[VII] Their habitations, called "hogans," are made of stone or timber. Where stone is employed, after excavating a hole 12 ft. in diameter and 3 in depth, they build a semi-globular mound to a height of ten feet, by laying stones in regular courses, each course approaching the vertex lapping over a few inches on the course below it. An aperture is left at the apex for the escape of the smoke and a small hole with steps for an entrance. The building is next covered with dirt or mud and is ready for habitancy. If palisades be used, after the excavation is made, straight, rough cedar logs, of 12 or 15 ft. in length are placed firmly in the ground inclining toward each other at the top and these are covered with earth also. Inside the "hogan" may be seen rugs of sheep-skin, blankets and coverlids of wool woven in bright colors, many of these being of considerable beauty and value—crocery "ollas" and dishes from the Pueblo tribes of Zuni, Moqui, Laguna, Acoma or the Rio Grande, and the elegant baskets from the Apaches. A fire

in the center is a *sine qua non*, and a couple of squaws, two or three papposes and as many dogs complete the picture.

The weather in the Navajo country is generally so serene that their councils, without exception, are held in the open air: Their women are admitted to participation in these and don't hesitate to express their opinions when they feel called upon to do so. They are like other Indians in their firm belief in the efficacy of sweat lodges; these may be made like "hogans," but, generally are temporary structures of willow work and brush. Sweet grasses, when obtainable, are burned in both sweat lodges and "hogans."

They do not paint gentile emblems upon the outside of their residences, neither could I at this time, ascertain anything relative to their social organization.

[VIII] The Navajoes who were present at the Agency were poorly provided with warlike weapons, the most dangerous being the old-time Yager rifle. Bows arrows and lances are still retained in use, but shields have been discarded.

The only stone implement to be found among them now is the war-club.

They use pipes very rarely, and smoke their tobacco, kinni-kinnick and other substances in cigarritos wrapped in corn-husks. Their tobacco receptacles are of buckskin, and of beaten silver. Earthen ware they obtain from the Pueblo villages and basketry from the Apaches, principally, altho' they make some fair specimens themselves which they coat with piñon pitch to make them retain water.

They understand and practice the art of obtaining fire by rubbing two sticks together; one stick of hard wood is held vertically between the two hands and pressed into and revolved rapidly in a hole in the lower stick, in which hole a little sand is thrown and around it some dried grass, punk or dung.

[IX] They are extremely fond of fruit, especially apples and peaches and have considerable orchards of the latter; they eat piñons, acorns, grass-seeds, sun-flowers, wild potatoes, mescal (generally obtained from the Apaches.), the juicy inner coating of the pine tree, and plant small quantities of corn, wheat, beans, squashes and melons. They readily eat elk, deer, antelope, porcupines, beaver, mules and horses but will not touch bear, *dogs*, or fish. They come under the designation—*chthonophagi*—as they are eaters of clay, being very fond of an impure kaolin found in abundance in their country.

They have some horned cattle, a few goats and chickens, a goodly number of donkeys, about 30,000 ponies and (estimated) 1,500,000 sheep. All grinding of wheat, corn and seed is performed in metates.

Section X. In decorating, they make use of stained porcupine quills, (occasionally) shells and elk tusks (rarely) but (principally) beads of coral and chalchuitl. Their clothing, blankets, sashes, garters, and saddle cloths are of woolen fabrics woven by themselves, the prevailing styles being broad bands of red, white and black, relieved by a little diamond or triangular ornamentation, or a narrow banded check work in scarlet, black, purple, green and white. Their taste is very correct and the designs turned out from their simple looms will hold their own in comparison with the most pretentious examples of Persian or Turkish skill.

[XI] They use silver alone as money.

[XIV] They seem to have the custom of "coup" among them in this way; that, in hunting, it is the man who first puts an arrow or lance into the game that owns, even tho' he may not be the one to overtake and kill it.

[XV] Their "medicinemen" are arrant imposters whose favorite mode of treating desperate cases is to suck out from the affected arms, legs or body the beads which they allege have brought on all the trouble.

Their women bear the pains of child-birth with much less inconvenience than do their white sisters; their free mode of dressing and natural mode of living contribute to this comparative immunity from distress. It is generally believed that Indian women make light of child-bearing; this is far from correct. Where comfort and attentions cannot be secured, they bear with the stolidity of their race that which cannot be avoided; but, in all possible cases, they extend to their pregnant women the attention their delicate condition requires.

[XVI] They have no professional mourners, but they do seem to bury their dead with processional honors and other mortuary ceremonies. The corpse is decked in its best raiment and, if full grown, carried to the place of burial; if a child, two young men, friends of the family, carry it to the appointed spot. The burial is made in a full length position, feet to the East. Ollas, baskets and other utensils in the case of a female, and bows & arrows, if the corpse be that of a man, are next broken in or upon the

grave, which is sometimes marked by a heap of stones. The corpse-bearers returning to the village stop at a point designated by a blazing fire which has been kindled while the procession has been moving toward the grave and there wash their hands. The women keep up their lamentations so long as the humor may seize them, but beyond cutting the hair, do nothing in the way of disfigurement and mutilation.

"Ganado Mucho" (Heap of Cattle) and other chiefs rode in during the afternoon to hold a conference with General Hatch.

Colonel Bennett presented General Hatch with a fine Navajo blanket and myself with another and both General Hatch and I succeeded in buying each half a dozen blankets, rugs and such articles of Navajo manufacture. Mr. Leonard very kindly presented me with a pair of silver bangles and a pair of silver bridle rosettes, all made by the Navajoes—these for myself and a very excellent bow and quiver full of arrows for General Crook. The quiver was a beautiful one of panther skin. Colonel Bennett desired me to say to General Sheridan and Gen'l Crook that he hoped, during the coming summer, to secure for each of them a fine Navajo blanket.

The treatment I have received from every one in this isolated station of Fort Defiance has been so cordial, unaffectedly good natured and generous that I would be lacking in common gratitude did I not refer to the matter in this feeble way in my journal.

Fort Defiance which deserves its name because its position is in defiance of nearly every principle of military science, is a wretched hole, but the people living there redeem the place most charmingly and fix my visit there as one of the pleasantest episodes of my life.

After supper, General Hatch held a council with the Navajo chiefs who had come into the agency. Only a small number was present, the shortness of the General's stay and the distance many of them would have had to come, preventing a larger attendance. The substance of the remarks made by the Indians was that they were extremely anxious to make their own living and not be dependent upon any outside source for supplies; that 12 years ago when they made peace with the Great Father, he had given them 12,000 sheep and told them to raise flocks and he would protect them in so doing and would also give them seed to put in the ground. They had listened to these words and taken good care of their flocks which had increased greatly, but as their

Reservation had so little water, they had been obliged to seek pasturage outside. Now the Railroads were approaching their country, bringing settlers who had taken up most of this outside grazing land and their flocks were crowded back upon the arid tracts of their own domain and were beginning to suffer. They had made in good faith an effort to raise crops and last year had sowed a large tract of land. (N.B. about 1000 A. J. G. B.) ; but first of all came a very high wind which blew all the seed out of the ground and when they had replanted and their crops were coming above ground, a freshet descended the stream and destroyed all the fruits of their labor. Consequently, until their next crop appeared, they would be dependent upon the government for help; $\frac{3}{4}$ of the tribe are now without supplies. They had been promised farming tools, but had received nothing except a few hoes; they most earnestly desired plows and axes. Since coming on the Reservation, their numbers had increased rapidly; a great many babies were born each year and only a few died.

General Hatch promised to make an urgent representation of their case to Washington and appeared to feel the importance of making instant provision for the support of this the most compact, powerful and formerly most warlike nation of savages in our country. The General spoke quite freely to Bennett and myself upon this subject which is assuming greater gravity from the different treatment accorded the Apaches and Utes, neighbors of the Navajoes and so recently on the war path. They have ample provision made for their support and as they are constantly running in and out among the Navajoes, (the Apaches speak the same language and the Utes are to some extent intermarried) keep up a feeling of irritation and a sense that the government is unjust in its dealings—that it is good to those whom it fears and neglectful of those who observe its counsels.

While our government has not provided food, it has purchased for them 68 doz. *lead castors*, which are still at the agency, in barrels *uncalled for*: and has laid out a boarding school, as already described.

The Railroads are bringing close to the Navajoes a wicked set of wretches who keep the young bucks supplied with the vilest whiskey.

April 26th, 1881. Tuesday. Returned to Wingate, making the 40 miles in 7 hours. Colonel DeCoursey pre-

sented me with three or four specimens of Zuni pottery—an owl, a rooster, and a couple of bowls—all most unique in their way.

On the grade of the R. R., not far from the Fort, we came across a band of Navajoes working at laying ties and shovelling dirt.

We ate our lunch at Hopkins' ranch. Mr. Bennett, a splendid specimen of physical power, said he was an old soldier from the 15th Infantry, and declined to receive any pay for the hospitality extended.⁶

During the two hours of our stay at the Post I made hurried calls upon the charming wife and sister-in-law of my old friend, General Bradley (now Colonel 13th Inf'ty).

A rapid drive of four miles brought us to the Rail Road station and the construction train; as our return journey was partly by daylight, I had a chance to see how the work of building this line had progressed. To supply water to gangs of graders and track-layers in arid sections, tank cars are run, each carrying several thousand gallons of good, cold water. A telegraph line runs along the Road, the wire being stretched on upright sleepers.

Commencing at the Arizona boundary, and running E. and N. E., past Fort Wingate and 50 miles farther, is the peculiar sandstone formation noticed in my trip to the Agency. It stands out boldly against the horizon, all its walls and angles as clear-cut and well defined as the parapets and salients of a master piece of military engineering. Near Blue Water, 40 m. E. of Wingate, the formation began to change, eruptive rocks making their appearance as basalt and black lava. Lava came in in small islets and mounds, gradually changing into large mesas and ridges and dykes. One of the latter alongside which the track runs for 5 miles, is traceable 14 m. back to its source, an extinct crater. A stream of pure water gushes out from under this dyke and trickles down to join the Rio Puerco of the East;⁷ this stream, I am told, is full of speckled trout. (The Rio Puerco of the East joins the Rio Grande: near its head waters, are those of the Rio Puerco of the West, an affluent of the Colorado.⁸)

A great deal of alkali is visible in the low flat places near the Rail Road; the heat of the sun draws it as a saline efflorescence to the surface.

6. This Bennett at Hopkins' ranch should not be confused with Col. F. T. Bennett, Navaho agent at Fort Defiance.

7. Known today as the Rio de San José, flowing eastwards into the Puerco.

8. Through the Little Colorado. Of course the Continental Divide separates these two streams.

The last I saw of the country was a flow of lava, a petrified black sea, such as the Ancient mariner might have come across in his wanderings; the iron horse ploughs his path through it for 5 miles. As lava is not a very compact rock, the engineers experienced some trouble in blasting, but the fragments make excellent track ballast.

Before retiring, I had a long conversation with General Hatch who gave not only an interesting recital of his services during the war, but of those since performed against the Indians in Texas, Ind'n Territory, New Mexico, Colorado, Arizona and Chihuahua (Mexico). Then of his early career at sea, and voyaging up the Amazon, and finally in the lumber regions of Minnesota.

General Hatch is an unusually handsome man, tall, finely proportioned and powerful, head finely shaped, hair white, eyes keen and penetrating, expression of countenance firm, intelligent and good natured.

The conductor of the freight train (to which we changed at Crane's) kindly made down berths for us and, wrapped in General Hatch's Navajo blankets our sleep was sound, until we were awakened at Albuquerque, N. M., at 2 a. m. on the morning of

April 27th, 1881. At the moment of stepping upon the platform, two high-toned gentlemen of the town were blazing away with pistols at each other a little farther up the street. Unfortunately neither was killed. General Hatch and I then entered what was said to be the "toniest" rum mill of the town, and took a glass of whiskey, which with a good coffee and a sandwich made a middling good breakfast. The establishment, the barkeeper politely informed us, was kept open day and night, Sunday and Monday, and was doing a rushing business. Albuquerque, a very old town of the Mexicans, is now noted for being the center of a growing R. R. system of considerable consequence and the place of resort of swarms of the hardest characters of the East and West.

Loaded down with all kinds of plunder—Indian pottery, Navajo blankets, baskets, bows and arrows, and our personal baggage, we patiently awaited the approach of the train from the South. In the gray of the dawn, it appeared and without a moment's delay started for Lamy.

On the way up to that point, I saw much to admire in the scenery of the Rio Grande Valley, so tame and uninteresting farther to the North. Here, it is laid out in broad

fields, irrigated and ready for the coming crop. Dozens of villages, of Mexicans and Indians, dot the thread of the stream, each embowered in a grove of fruit trees in full blossom. Across the valley, scores of acequias, large and small, wound between rows of fresh young sentinel cottonwoods which completely concealed the precious treasure of limpid water they were carrying to the parched fields, excepting where here and there it sparkled like jewels of price through rifts in the foliage. The morning was far enough advanced to throw a roseate flush over the dome of the sky and enable us to distinguish clearly, every village, house, barn and orchard in the landscape: and in one word, I may say the effect was enchanting.

At Lamy, General Hatch and I took breakfast and then separated, he to return to Santa Fé, and I to continue on to Atchison, Kansas.

During our brief tarry at Fort Wingate, I had the great pleasure of making the acquaintance of Mr. Cushing, of the Smithsonian Institute, who has been living among the Zuni Indians since last summer.⁹ They have regularly adopted him into the tribe, made him a chief and invested him with their costume. Noticing a string of sea-shells around his neck, I inquired whence they came. "From the Pacific Ocean; the Zunis make pilgrimages there every four years." Cushing is a man of intelligence, persistency and enthusiasm, just the character to carry to a successful conclusion the mission he has undertaken.

Leaving Lamy, our train soon entered "Glorieta Cañon," the site of an engagement between U. S. Vols. and Texan rebels in 1861.¹⁰ There is much pine timber of small size and the scenery is picturesque. On the East side of the cañon, we came in full view of the ruins of the "Pecos church," built by the missionaries years ago for the benefit of a pueblo, which becoming decimated by disease, finally merged in with the people of Jemez.

9. Frank Hamilton Cushing had accompanied the Powell expedition to New Mexico in 1879 and had been left at Zuni at his own request. When Bourke met him, Cushing was already deeply versed in Zuni lore and had been made a member of the Macaw clan. Later Bourke expressed his warm regard for Cushing and the work he was doing in interviews which were published in the papers of Omaha, Chicago, and elsewhere.

10. This important battle which saved New Mexico for the Union occurred late in March, 1862.

Dined at Las Vegas (the Meadows), a bustling, growing town, situated in the center of broad, fertile farm lands. Supper at Raton (mouse) at the foot of the Rocky Mts.: here we took on two powerful engines and began to climb over the Continental Divide. In the pass, there appears to be a good deal of coal, indications and outcroppings being abundant. At the summit, we entered a long tunnel, having passed which, we had easy work to get down a long, steep descent to Trinidad. This is another Mexican town which like its neighbors, Pueblo, Santa Fé, Albuquerque, and El Paso, has awakened to new life under the influence of the pushing, busy Yankee. When I was last here in 1869, it was as a worn-out sleepy passenger on the overloaded stage running from the terminus of the R. R. in Kansas to Santa Fé. No one was then sanguine enough to dream of a Rail Road to Santa Fé and to every important point in New Mexico and Arizona; certainly not in our generation.

April 28th, 1881. A disagreeable, cold Kansas "blizzard" tormented us all day. We were bowling over the interminable plains of Kansas. Stretching on all sides to the clouds, without any more undulation of surface than a wind-rippled sea, the total absence of timber confirmed the resemblance to ocean travel. For a number of hours we kept down the valley of the placid Arkansas, but at noon this diverged to the S. and left us to continue our journey in a belt of land unrelieved by any attraction. The land seemed well adapted for farming and the careful fencing, the comfortable dwellings and the great flocks of sheep gave the idea that farming had not been without profit. This former home of the buffalo has not now a single one of those noble creatures within her borders.

April 29, 1881. (Friday). Reached Topeka, Kansas, at 2 a. m. Took the chaircar on the branch line to Atchison (60 m.), which we reached at 5 a. m. Put up at the Union Depot Hotel, had a nice nap, good breakfast and refreshing shave. Telegraphed my whereabouts to General Williams.

All communications between Atchison and the country to the North and East had been destroyed by the great flood in the Missouri River, which at Atchison was five miles wide, 20' @ 30' deep, and was rushing along with the overwhelming power of the ocean, sweeping before it houses and farms, fences and barns. This flood has wrought immense destruction at Council Bluffs, Iowa, East Atchison,

and Kansas City, Mo. Omaha, Neb., has escaped with scarcely a scratch demonstrating that *there* is the safest point on the Missouri for the investment of capital. Not seeing any other way of escaping from this point, I hired a buggy for \$7.50 to take me 20 m. to Troy, the junction of the "Atchison and Nebraska," with the "Saint Joseph and Denver" R. R.

Atchison is an important R. R. town: it is touched by the "Burlington," "Rock Island," "Topeka and Santa Fé," "Hannibal and Saint Joseph," "Missouri Pacific," and the "Central Branch" of the last named line. It has a great many respectable brick buildings and many marks of wealth and prosperity.

Our drive was over a rough road, coursing around steep hills, tracked by freshly made furrows or emerald with the tender blades of wheat. Solid farmhouses of stone and brick, with huge barns well filled with grain and hay, and their fields dotted with herds of cattle, flocks of sheep and chickens and droves of swine made a scene of contentment and prosperity, pleasant to contemplate, and made one forget the horrible winter through which all this Western country has so lately passed. Upon all the orchard trees, multitudes of blossoms gave hope of a rich crop of fruit in the coming summer; tiny violets peeped out from every shaded nook, rich green grass and young wheat covered the sunny slopes and the silver-voiced meadow lark sang its blithesome song in defiance of the gloomy sky and raw, chilly East wind.

There was not much timber on our line of travel; in places, groves of planted cottonwoods, but fine orchards in every favorable spot. All houses and barns of good size, and frequently of tasteful appearance.

Troy Junction is a straggling country town, the seat of a large trade with a rich farming region. It is at the intersection of the two R. R.'s. already mentioned and is 20 m. from Atchison, (14 by R. R.) 11 from Saint Jo., Mo., 238 from Grand Island, Neb., and about 100 S. from Lincoln, Neb.

Put up at the Higby House and ate a good dinner served by a motherly landlady.

April 30th, 1881. Saturday. Had an early breakfast at 6 a. m. Smart rain fell for an hour or two. At 8, the train came in from Wahtheena, the nearest point to Saint Jo. Learned the welcome news that the Missouri had fallen

a foot last night at Saint Jo., which means, of course, that it has subsided still more at Omaha. The Saint Jo. & Western R. R. runs along the Northern tier of Kansas counties and the Southern of those of Nebraska.

At Marysville, half way between Saint Joseph and Grand Island, there is a branch line of the B. and M. R. R. to Omaha, via Lincoln; this I had hoped to be able to take, but found to my regret that the floods had practically destroyed it and no trains were in operation.

The country traversed is a broad rolling prairie, of rich black soil, cut up by numerous timbered ravines all well filled with perennial streams. By all odds, it is the prettiest piece of farming land I've seen since starting back from Arizona. At Hanover, a little village in the middle of a broad prairie, is the intersection with the main line of the Burlington & Missouri River R. R.

A little N. W. of Hastings, we crossed the Platte river, like the Arkansas bankfull. Half an hour after, we reached Grand Island. Here I put up at the R. R. Hotel, kept by my friends Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey Wiltze.

May 1st, 1881. Sunday. Took the U. P. Passenger for Omaha, which we reached on time.

May 4th, 1881. Wednesday. Lieutenant Schwatka, 3rd Cavalry, called upon me. Schwatka's card was peculiar in its way, consisting of a piece of board with his name scrawled on it in lead pencil.

None of our mess having seen Schwatka since his departure for the North Pole, 3 years ago, the conversation at dinner this evening related largely to former services together and to the numerous pranks in which our friend had been engaged. While serving in the Dep't of the Platte, Schwatka was stationed at the (old) Spotted Tail Agency, N. W. Nebraska, where, finding time hang heavily upon his hands, he gathered as strange a menagerie, for its size, as ever was seen. It included among other items, a young owl, a pair of cayotes, a pair of wild cats, 2 or 3 young deer and I don't know what else besides. Schwatka gave a very amusing description of this menagerie and said that once Captain (then Lieutenant) W. P. Clark, 2nd Cavalry, came up to see him. They had been "drinking freely," as Schwatka expressed it, and after retiring to rest Clark suffered from an all-consuming thirst. He arose from his couch, wandered around in the darkness hunting for water

and in a trice ran in upon the wild cats which scratched him badly. His mind was bewildered by sleep, by the darkness and to some extent no doubt, by whiskey, so that he failed to grasp the situation. He couldn't understand what brought those strange animals to that room; so groping his way to another room, (Schwatka was living in a large building) he encountered the cayotes and while he was striving to collect his faculties and make out what it all meant, the owl flew at him, perched on his head and sank its claws in his skull. At the same moment, Clark was sure he heard two or three people running around the room on *stilts* (they were the fawns, moving about in their peculiar, stiff-legged manner), and this satisfied him he "had 'em" sure enough. He threw himself into his bed, covered his head with the blanket and remained concealed until morning. This is Schwatka's side of the story; I have not yet heard what Clark has to say.

May 5th, 1881. Thursday. With Schwatka, calling upon people in Omaha, all day.

May 7th, 1881. Passed a delightful evening at the house of Mrs. G. S. Collins, Miss Horbach,¹¹ Miss Wakely, and Mr. Charles Ogden.

May 10th, 1881. Busy all day packing clothes &c. and passed the afternoon & evening in calling upon friends in the post and in town—the Lovingtons, Horbachs, Watsons, Savages and others.

Chapter XVI

PRELIMINARY WORK AT ZUÑI

May 11th, 1881. Rec'd a very pleasant personal letter from Lieut.-General Sheridan, in reference to the prosecution of my work under his orders. Bade adieu to Gen'l Crook, Roberts, Williams, Ludington, Col. & Capt. Stanton, Col. Burnham, Gen'l King, the Bachelors' Mess. (Foote, Palmer, Lee's, Hay.) and started for Santa Fé. Passing through town saw several of my best friends and on the train met numerous pleasant acquaintances whose society as far as Cheyenne served to make time fly with rapidity. There were Mr. Vining of the Union Pacific, S. S. Stevens of the Rock Island, Lt. Reynolds, 3rd Cav'y, Mr. Rustin of the Omaha Smelting Works and his young son, Mr. Barklow of

11. The young lady who, two years later, was to become his wife.

Omaha, Drs. Coffman and Mercer and Mr. Congdon of the U. P. R. R. and his son. The last four were proceeding hurriedly to North Platte to attend to Mr. Congdon's nephew, who had met a serious accident, involving a strangulated hernia which they feared might end fatally. Lt. Reynolds was returning to Regimental Hd. Qrs., Fort Russell, Wyo., from the wedding of Cap't McCauley, A. Q. M. Besides the above we had in our two sleepers the Raymond Theatrical Company, thus representing all moods, sentiments and interests. Mr. Vining who has utilized every moment of his leisure in hard studies in philology interested me immensely by his conversation upon the subject of Indian dialects, from which I drew many hints for future use.

The weather which for the past week had been sultry and unpleasant to a degree, culminated this afternoon in a violent storm of hail & rain, the effect of which was delightful in the coolness of the evening air, enabling us to enjoy the scenery of the picturesque valley of the Platte, green with the interminable fertility of Nebraska.

May 12th, 1881. Morning bright, cool, and fair, excepting a few broken masses of cloud, reminders of yesterday's storm.

At Sidney, Neb., met Col. Gentry, 9th Inf'y, Price, Adam and Waite, 5th Cavalry. Mr. Stevens, Mr. and Mrs. Vining and Mr. Barklow, kept on with me to Denver where we were separated, they going to the Windsor and I to Charpiot's, an excellent hotel.

May 13th, 1881. Took 8 a. m. Denver and Rio Grande train for Pueblo. A long file of impatient ticket-buyers waited behind a woman who was employing a good deal of useless energy in the effort to have a couple of extra trunks passed to her destination without paying for them. The ticket-agent was deaf to all persuasion, but she remained at her post trying our patience to the utmost. Miracles sometimes happen; that woman's jaw became tired and we had a chance to buy our tickets.

We had a lovely day; the temperature was warm without any approach to undue heat, the sky was clear as sapphire, and the scenery lovely to look upon. Fields and hills were covered with rich green, the trees were in full foliage and back of all in the Western horizon rose the blue and gray line of the Rocky Mountains, the higher peaks still retaining their bridal purity of white. Lt. Erwin, 4th

Cav'y, was a fellow passenger as far as Pueblo, where I found 4 cos. of the 4th Cav'y. & 3 of the 6th Inf'y. all moving out to the Uncompahgre Ute Agency in S. Colorado. I knew only a few of the officers—in fact, I think, only one—Wint of the 4th, whom I met in Kansas City, Mo., when I was a member of a Horse Board last year.

The last time I passed through Pueblo (April 1881), I spoke of the great improvements noticed; I forgot to say it has a street car line and several brick yards, and bids strongly to become in a few years more a dangerous rival of Denver. The American element is changing everything with the rapidity of lightning; yet, I observed a half dozen Mexican women washing linen in an acequia, in the good old fashioned way, pounding them between flat rocks. Changed cars at Pueblo to the train of the Atchison Topeka & Santa Fé, which ran along the timber-clad line of the Arkansas for 63 m. to La Junta, where I had to get out to await the arrival of the Westward-bound express.

During the past 2 days, have read General Simpson's sketch of Coronado's march (1540),¹ which is a most pleasant article, very carefully considered and entitled to respectful attention. But I think that Simpson has fallen into an error in making Old Zuni² the seven cities of Cibola: having to employ the egregiously defective map of the Engineer Corps in use at the time of preparing his essay, Simpson makes Coronado march in a straight N. E. line from Chichil-tecale (Casa Grande) to Zuni, which would require the passage of mountains, and cañons of the most rugged nature: whereas, right in front of Casa Grande, across a narrow desert is the junction of the Verde and Salt Rivers, the former flowing for a long distance nearly N. and S. Down this river runs at the present day the trail made by the Moquis in coming and going to and from Prescott to sell their peaches and blankets and to buy our commodities. There can be no reasonable doubt that in 1540, they had the same general line of travel to the country of the Pimas, who lived along the Salt river, near the mouth of the Verde, as well as on the Gila and Santa Cruz. Neither can there be any doubt that Coronado as a good soldier, took the precaution of sending out an advance-guard to learn the lay of the land and to ascertain the best course to pursue. The very

1. In the Smithsonian Annual Report of 1869.

2. Bourke always spells Zuñi without the tilde. Ethymologically the tilde is correct, if Cushing was right as to the Cochitian (Keresan) origin of the name: Sunyi. See Bureau of American Ethnology, *Seventh Annual Report*, index.

authorities cited by Simpson assert as much and though their account of the march after leaving Chichiltecale, is given in vague & indefinite terms, there is nothing in it to militate against the theory I advance, which besides has every physical fact in its favor. The Verde route would furnish a sufficiency, at times, an abundance of water, wood and grass, besides its directness, running N. E. across the skirt of the S. Francisco Mtns. to Moqui. I can hardly reconcile myself to the idea that Coronado would forego all these advantages for the pleasure of scaling mountains and descending cañons which in 1870-1875 were regarded with dread by young soldiers of ambition and courage, in fair quantities. Without pretending to introduce it as evidence of great weight, I may here allude to the curious ruin found by Lt. Almy and myself in 1872, on the Upper Verde,³—a ruin satisfying all conditions as a place of defense and storage of supplies, and which *may* have been constructed by some of Coronado's advance parties. The description of the place where Coronado was wounded, accords singularly well with that of Moqui, at this moment; the Moqui towns are *seven* in number, lying within 3 miles of each other. Zuni has but *one* town, and two or three small farming villages, not permanently occupied. General Simpson's translation (which I am satisfied is correct and trustworthy, as I have not seen the originals) says that Acoma was 5 days from Cibola, but if Cibola be Zuni, Acoma being less than 60 miles from there and about 120 m. from Moqui, the latter distance would appear to represent more closely the distance traversed by veteran soldiers and Indians, inured to the climate and noted for pedestrian performances. Espejo's statement that when he reached Zuni, he found there some of the Indians who had come in with Coronado and that *that* place was Cibola may be taken for what it is worth; he says in the same breath that these men had been so long at Zuni, they were unable to speak *their own* language with facility and as they never knew his to any great extent the difficulty of communicating with them and the dangers of falling into mistakes will be understood and appreciated by those who have had any dealings with savages at the present day; when a treaty such as that concluded with the Utes last autumn, whose provisions were explained to them with such care, was so completely misunderstood that the Utes can now claim they never ceded the lands for which they ac-

3. See N. MEX. HIST. REV., IX, 425-427.

cepted \$60,000 of our money! The branch expedition to Tusayan, which Simpson says went to Moqui in my opinion went to the ruins, N. of those villages and within close proximity to the grand cañon of the Colorado.

The above views I endeavored to elucidate in a letter to the Rev'd. E. E. Hale, of Boston (written in February 1881.) It should be remarked that the Pinal Mountains are out of position on Simpson's map. This criticism is inserted here to preserve some of the "points" which I hope to more clearly establish after my examination of this country shall have been concluded.⁴

"La Junta" is simply what its name indicates, "the junction" of two Railroads—in a little village on the banks of the Arkansas. Here I ran against my old friend Mr. Hiram Stevens of Arizona, formerly delegate from that T'y. We had an enjoyable talk about many of my old friends in Tucson and other parts of the T'y and then withdrew to the room we were to occupy. I copied a very amusing "notice" pasted to the wall.

"*Notice.* Gentlemen occupying this room will please remove their boots before retiring and also will please not expectorate in the foot-bath as that is not what it is intended for—By order of the proprietor, (signed) R. Jeffries, clerk."

May 14th, 1881. Had to get out of bed at 1 a. m. to take the train for Santa Fé; altho' it was pulling 3 Pullmans, not a berth was vacant. The passenger coaches were also filled and it was with difficulty we secured seats.

Trinidad, on the Purgatoire, a pretty mountain tributary of the Arkansas, is growing wonderfully, on account of coal and coke industries fostered by the R. R. It possesses a large number of nice houses, some of them of brick. The D.&R.G. road has a branch running to Mora, only 3 m. from Trinidad. With the extension of this to the latter place, which no doubt will be effected shortly, Trinidad will assume increased importance.

Raton pass was gaily decked with green grass and pretty flowers, but our enjoyment of the scenery was marred by the entrance of a gang of low Mexican women, accompanied by still viler American men. My experience with all grades of life, assures me that the vilest whelps on the face of God's earth are degraded Americans.

4. The views above expressed are interesting but they are not those now accepted either as to the route of Coronado or as to the identity of Cibola. Cf. Cushing, *Zuñi Breadstuff* (1920), pp. 129, 361.

We breakfasted at Raton, which seems to be a collection of grog-shops, on the slope of the Rocky Mountains. The meal, as all meals I have eaten on the Santa Fé line, was quite good. Having passed the divide, we entered a very lovely country; broad plains carpeted with tender grasses and flowers, and low table-lands, breaking the contour of the surface every few thousands of yards. In the distance to the North, were elevated peaks upon whose hoods of snow, the warm spring sun has as yet made no impression. Bold knolls of flinty limestone, shaded with stunted cedar, pine and piñon and mounds of black lava began to press in upon our line of travel: these have yielded excellent material for the construction of the road-bed which will soon be unexcelled in this country. The Topeka & Santa Fé people realize the economy of building solidly at the start; their rails are steel, their "stations" are nearly all of stone, their tanks are capacious and upon solid foundations and the ballast of the road will soon be altogether of stone. On one of the side tracks was standing a construction train, the roofs of the cars decorated with cactus in full flower.

We ran along the banks of the Mora, (Mulberry) a pretty stream, recently very troublesome with swollen currents threatening the grade and necessitating a good deal of masonry rip-rapping.

While crossing the Rocky Mtns. this morning, the air was too chilly for comfort; in the lower elevations, a more genial temperature and balmy breezes awaited us.

Flocks of sheep and frisky lambs, goats with their kids and donkeys with their young were to be seen at every point, each flock or herd under the care of a diminutive, swarthy "muchacho" who gazed stolidly at the train whirling by.

"Las Vegas" is situated in a fine meadow land, well cultivated in places; this town is putting in gas and water works and "there is some talk" of a street car line. Four miles distant are the famous Hot Springs which I hope to be able to see some time during the coming summer. Mr. Stevens concluded to remain over for one day at this point. In the Apache cañon near Glorieta, is a quarry of limestone, worked by the R. R. company. It is the finest limestone I've ever seen; compact crystalline, clear white, hard, and obtainable in blocks of any desired dimensions.

In the Pecos Valley is the old ruined church and Pueblo, already referred to and to be visited, if possible, this summer.

A sprinkling of rain fell this afternoon.

This Apache cañon, called erroneously Glorieta Cañon in the notes of my last trip, must have been a terrible place for ambushades of those cruel & wily savages during the years they held sway in this region. In and around Glorieta, the pines increased in number and size, some being of very respectable height and the source of great piles of ties and telegraph poles piled up for the use of the R.R. company.

Met the Rev'd Dr. McNamara, an Episcopal clergyman doing duty at Las Vegas and Santa Fé, and formerly stationed in Omaha; with him were Rev'd. Mr. Cossett and wife, the latter very handsome.

At Lamy, changed cars for Santa Fé and at Santa Fé, put up at the Exchange Hotel. Paid my respects to Gen'l & Mrs. Hatch and called upon Major Van Horn, Lieut. Goodwin and Mrs. Lee.

May 15th, 1881. A lovely bright morning. The papers contain a telegraphic statement that Lt. Cherry, 5th Cavalry, was on the 12th instant killed by highwaymen, not far from his station at Fort Niobrara, Neb. Poor Cherry entertained me very hospitably last November and was one of the officers of the Thornburgh Expedition, I saw at Milk River, Colo., in Oct. 1879.

Met Mr. Posey Wilson of Cheyenne and "Captain Jack" Crawford, "the poet-scout," who served under General Crook in the campaign of 1867.⁵

Lunched with the Woodruffs: our conversation referred to Conline who was in Santa Fé during my last visit, and has since, poor fellow, developed a violent type of insanity and is now confined in the Government Asylum, near Washington, D. C.

At 2 p. m. took train for Lamy Junction where I met Cols. Lee and McKibbin and Mr. Stevens. A brisk rain beat down upon us, as we were moving through the Indian Pueblos of Santo Domingo and San Felipe, the latter extremely pretty. Their orchards promise an abundant yield of fruit, their fields are all planted and their acequias bank-full of water promise all the moisture needed to ensure good crops.

5. Crawford was touring at this time as a lecturer, and had appeared at the Garcia Opera House in Santa Fé, the night of April 7. The State Historical Society has an old handbill which announced his talk on "The Camp Fire and the Trail: a Story of Thrilling Adventure Graphically Related."

Low black lava mesas bound the valley of the Rio Grande between Lamy & Albuquerque.

At Albuquerque, I left the train hoping to connect with one on the Atlantic and Pacific road: in this I was not successful, but I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. F. W. Smith, of the A&P road, a very bright gentleman, much interested in all pertaining to the Indians of the N. W. New Mexico and Arizona.

The baggage-master at the depot inadvertently locked up all my baggage in the store-room, leaving me to grope my way in a drenching rain, but fortunately without any encumbrance, along the street rail road track to the Armijo House, a hotel just built and opened in the "new town." This new Albuquerque is a noisy place; its streets are lined with gin-mills, each with its "accordeon fiend" warbling forth his strains to the delight of an audience of open-mouthed miners, train-hands and "tender-feet."

The "Armijo" is not a bad hotel in appearance and being brand new has not yet had a chance to become dirty. In the parlor, a squad of ladies and gentlemen were torturing the ears of night with their ideas of vocalization: they did fairly well with a couple of negro camp-meeting songs which sufficed as an excuse, if excuse were needed, in Albuquerque, for classifying their entertainment as a "sacred concert." They sang selections from Pinafore too, but sang them so wretchedly that their violation of the *Sabbath* was degraded to a venial offense in the presence of their more heinous crime of singing which merited hell-fire any day of the week. They regaled my ears with this musical banquet, until long after midnight. Not having any weapons with me, they escaped unharmed.

A gentleman at the R.R. depot, this evening showed me a quantity of delicious strawberries and beautiful flowers, raised in the "old town," he said.

May 16th, 1881. The train leaving Albuquerque this morning was composed of a long line of freight cars, with one "combined" coach to carry passengers, mail and express.

Last night's plenteous rain had laid all dust and made the air fresh and bracing and with the immaculate blue sky above him one could not help feeling how true are the praises lavished upon the climate of the valley of the Upper Rio Grande.

6. El Rito took its name from the Rio de San José. As indicated below, it was six miles east of Old Laguna.

At El Rito^o stopped for dinner in an unpromising woodshed, but the proprietor, Mr. Sheridan, disappointed us most agreeably. The bill of fare was not very pretentious, but composed of well cooked food—a rich broth, good fresh bread, boiled potatoes, beans, stewed mutton, apple pie and coffee. The sugar bowls & salt cellars were bric-a-brac that would have set Eastern collectors crazy with envy; they were of ornamented ware, made by the Pueblos of Laguna, 6 m. distant. Mr. Sheridan had a strikingly handsome face and head; he said he had wandered all over the world from the place of his birth, Charleston, S. C.—to Great Britain, India, China, Japan and Australia. Noticing my interest in pottery, he displayed a great number of specimens, all odd & not a few very beautiful. A dozen or more of the Indians were hanging around the door, waiting to sell their wares to the passengers. Not having the least bit of room in my valise, I had to content myself with an earthen duck and a painted cup, my purchases costing me the sum of just (15) fifteen cents. These Indians, like all the Pueblos, I've seen, are very short, but strongly built; their faces are decidedly good.

The R.R. companies permit them to ride up and down to their heart's content and not a train passes along without a half-dozen or so availing themselves of the privilege. The track cuts through the middle of their town which is on the Rio Puerco (of the East) about 75 m. from Albuquerque. This band have not confined themselves to the town proper, but under the security now afforded them, have branched out into a considerable number of dwellings, standing alone or grouped in hamlets too small to be called towns. Each of these has its strip of cultivated land, its irrigating ditches dug at an immense expenditure of labor, and its orchards of peach trees. In one field not a stone's throw from the cars, the Indians were plowing with the rude wooden instrument of this country. This was fastened to the horns of a pair of small oxen, driven by one of the Indians and led by the other. Saw a mill-stone of *lava*.

15 m. beyond Laguna is the pueblo of "Acoma," composed of 3 small villages, a stone's throw apart.⁷ Close to Acoma, I noticed mesas formed of lava and sandstone in juxtaposition, the lava on top: on summit and flanks, these mesas had a straggling growth of scrub cedar, not suffi-

7. This was "Little Acoma," then the seasonal residence of many of the Acoma Indians who came north from old Acoma to find irrigable land along the river. Bourke did not see the old pueblo and the Enchanted Mesa at this time.

ciently plenty to hide the surface beneath. On a promontory projecting from one of these mesas, saw another pueblo, of very small size, containing not over a dozen houses: we should not have noticed its existence had not our train been chased by a parcel of white-toothed, bright-eyed children whose voices rang out in musical laughter as they emulated each other in a frolicsome attempt to overhaul us.

The valley of the Pueblo, and indeed nearly all the country thus far penetrated by the line of the Atlantic and Pacific R.R. consists of a succession of broad flat fields, bounded by low mesas of lava and sand stone. These fields lie well for good drainage and are filled with rich soil, the decomposed lava of the bluffs, mixed with sand and clay. All they need is irrigation to make them bloom as a garden. Artesian wells would furnish all the water needed and would, I am convinced from the looks of the country, strike it at a moderate depth, say within 300 ft. A gentleman on the train told me that the R.R. had struck water at 60 ft. but that very likely was an exceptional instance. Were our Government to expend a small sum in the demonstration of this fact, a stream of colonists would quickly set in upon these lands and draw from them rich harvests of wheat and sub-tropical fruits, such as oranges, figs, olives, grapes and raisins, almonds, peaches &c.

Going from the station to the Fort,⁸ had the company of Mr. Small, U. S Mail agent a very intelligent companionable gentleman.

Put up with Col. DeCoursey and called upon General Bradley and family before going to bed.

May 17th, 1881. Put in a good day's work upon my journal; also called upon Gen'l Bradley to arrange about my transportation to Zuni, and finally visited the Great Spring, by which the post is built. This is a stream of very good size, especially for such a dry climate. It supplies more than enough water for all the needs of the post, where at present nine companies of cavalry and Infantry are stationed and much building is going on.

May 18th, 1881. (Wednesday). After breakfast, left post, going nearly due S. climbing a steep grade for about 3 or 4 miles, the flank of the mountain being plentifully covered with piñon, scrub cedar, scrub oak and occasionally, stunted pine. From the summit, a fine view was obtained

8. Fort Wingate.

of the surrounding country which was seen to be a series of plateaus, or perhaps it might be better to say one plateau seamed and gashed with countless ravines and cañons. There was a great deal of timber to be seen, chiefly of small growth, but there was little water.

To my surprise we now entered a very pretty park, a thick forest of pine encircling little grassy glades. The driver said that a fine spring poured out of the ground a mile to the left of our trail. Several wagons loaded with ties for the rail road passed us. The timber along this part of road was of good size. This plateau is, undoubtedly, a prolongation of the Mogollon of Arizona.

The formation is generally sandstone; limestone crops out occasionally and a kiln is now burning, a half mile to L., for the use of Wingate.

We found the weather delightful, on this elevated tableland; the sky, as it so generally is in Arizona & New Mexico, was faultless and the temperature so balmy that the birds in the swaying pine tops were stimulated to floods of melody.

Eight miles from Wingate, rested our team.

Here we were overtaken by a band of Navajoes, driving a large herd of several thousands of sheep and goats. We journeyed along with them, an odd procession of men, women, children, dogs, ponies, donkeys, sheep, goats lambs and kids—until we came to a very bad declivity when they turned off to the West and we soon lost sight of them.

Going down this bad grade, I left the vehicle (a buckboard) and walked in advance; the road cutting through a red clay soil, with out-croppings of what, in my hurried examination, I took to be lime-stone. At the foot of the hill, we entered the head of the valley of Nutria (Beaver) a pretty little glen—at that point not over $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide. On each side were high bluffs of sandstone, covered in places with a scattering growth of pine. At foot of the bluffs, was a stretch of green grass and other herbage affording pasturage to several thousands of sheep and goats, under care of three or four Zuni children. A curious wall of sandstone, 50 ft. high ran down the center of the valley for 30 or 40 rods, its crest occupied by tiny black & white kids, not over a month old, which gazed at us in a grave eyed wonderment. A thousand yards farther, at an abrupt turn of the road around a projecting lodge of rocks, the valley suddenly widened to 1500-2000 yds; down its center a little brook, 5 ft. w.

and 6" deep wound its way, affording water for irrigating the wheat fields which here commence.⁹

At suitable points, small houses had been built to afford necessary shelter to the laborers, and a great many scare-crows were in position to scare away birds and predatory animals.

We crossed the stream at a stone dam of pine logs, stone and clay and entered the little pueblo of Nutria, one of the outlying towns of the Zunis, but occupied only during the season for planting and harvesting.¹⁰

Its situation is at the foot of a low hill, having enough wood for all purposes, and about 1500 yds. south of a very high ledge of sandstone which commands it completely and would make it untenable were hostile riflemen to post themselves in the cliffs. The soil of the valley, I should say, seems to be fertile and perhaps as much as 300 A. are under cultivation at this point. The houses of Nutria are small and intended apparently, for single families.

I entered one, built of flat small pieces of sandstone laid in mud, plastered smooth with lime, inside and out. Stone steps led up to the room I was invited to enter. Its dimensions were 12' x 14' by 6½' in height, the floor of packed earth, the ceiling of round pine saplings 5" in d., covered with riven slabs of same tree. The door was made with nails and secured by a chain. Light and ventilation were obtained through (3) three apertures in the wall; one 6"x14", filled in with *pieces* of glass; one large kept constantly open and 2'x4'; and the third filled in with a movable glass shutter of six small panes. Besides these, there were an opening in the ceiling 8"x8", covered with a smooth flat stone and the chimney opening out from the hearth at middle point of the north wall. This chimney was constructed upon sound principles and had a good draught; free from smoke.

My hosts were small in stature; the man not over 5'7"; expression of face good-natured; hair dishevelled but kept back from face by a fillet of old red calico. Moccasins of reddish brown buck-skin, rising above ankle and fastening on outside of instep with one silver button. Sole of raw-hide and toe protected by a small upraise nothing like so large as the *shield* of the Apaches, who live in a *cactus* country. He wore both leggings and under leggings; the latter

9. Bourke was now on one of the headwaters of the Zuñi river.

10. Several years later, an attempt by General Logan and his relatives to pre-empt this land from the Zuñis aroused some very unsavory publicity.

of blue worsted, the former of buckskin, both reaching to the knee and there held in place by red worsted garters. Loose drawers, shirt and breech-clout, all of cotton cloth, once white; shirt worn outside of pants and drawers and open on outer side from knee down.

Two quite pretty but dirty children stood by me while writing; the younger dressed in a simple "slip" reaching to knees; the elder wearing, besides the slip, a jacket of American make. The smaller also had ear-ornaments, simple circlets of silver.

There were two squaws; one, gray-haired, old and wrinkled, whose life was nearly spent. Her dress was made much as that of the Navajo women—of blankets, fastened at right shoulder, but exposing left arm, shoulder and part of bust. A girdle of red worsted confined it at waist. In front, she wore an apron of coarse white manta, of which she also had a cloak, covering the shoulders. Around the neck was a collaret reaching to waist made of silver balls and quarter dollars and terminating in a pendant. Like the men, she wore woolen leggings, feet bare. The younger squaw was dressed entirely in "manta," but also wore moc-casins, made as are all those seen here, perfectly plain. She had no jewels.

One side of the room was taken up with a scaffold, covered with fresh mutton, old clothing and a pile of sheepskins which they use as bedding.

There were also some coarse blankets of Navajo and Zuni make, and a rug, such as can be seen among the Moquis, made of strands of wool, with insertions of cayote¹¹ & rabbit fur. The cooking utensils were iron pots and crockery ware, the latter made by themselves. There were also two baskets, round & flat made of green willow twigs and coarse in construction. The table-ware, spoons, ladles, &c. were also of earthen ware, and in several cases pieces of old tin cans had been cleverly shaped to the same uses. Near the hearth were bundles of dried twigs for kindling. The food, besides the mutton above spoken of, consisted of two earthen platters of yellow and blue corn, parched with salt and a number of strings of mutton tallow and what I took to be dried sheep entrails. From a corner of this room, a little door, 15" w. by 4' high, led by a couple of steep steps down to a small store-room 8'x9' square, 6' in height, and 3½ ft. below the level of the one first entered. It contained a few

11. Bourke's spelling seems to represent the Anglo pronunciation, Kī'yōt.

farming implements, American shovels, hoes, forks, picks & axes and half a dozen large earthen jars and "ollas"; in a basin, on the floor was a *bunch* of tempered clay ready to be moulded into pottery. Three open slits in the walls, each 8"x10" gave light and air, besides what was afforded by the *two* chimneys in the corners of one wall. They were made thus: a platform ran from wall to wall and 2½ ft. above floor; upon this, the chimneys were built, of pine logs, mud and stone.

While I was writing, the younger squaw leaned over my shoulder, absorbed in interest at the rapid movement of the pencil over the paper. The old squaw kept on with her work grinding corn in a "metate." In the store-room, as I have called it, were also gourd spoons, hay brushes for cleaning, cooking utensils and an old Apache or Navajo basket.

Descending a ladder, I reached a room of the same dimensions as the *first* and directly under it. The chimney was the same as that of the first room, opening up into it. The windows were four small affairs, each 6"x12", hermetically sealed with fragments of glass. Here was a large accumulation of stores, betokening thrift, foresight and comfort.

Boxes, bags and ollas, large and small, were filled with pumpkins dried in strips, with mutton tallow, corn meal, beans, blue corn in the ear, chile and pumpkin seeds, sheep bones (for marrow) corn husks (for kindling fires & smoking), any quantity of crockery, several large Apache baskets, and along the whole of one side ran a wooden bin, divided into four compartments with "metates" of varying fineness.

My host handed me food made, to judge from taste, of corn meal mixed with the juice of peaches. This food, I afterward learned to my great disgust was made by the young girls who first *chewed* the corn to a pulp & then set it out in the sun to ferment.

An old fragment of buffalo robe which my guide said was Ootay (Ute), a net raven hopping about and another coverlid of rabbit-skins, were the only other things I could see. I was offered "tortillas" which tasted sweet and palatable. Bought a wooden spoon.

This Nutria valley contains, I should say, about 4000 A. of arable land, 400 A. being irrigated by ditches laid out with wonderful skill. The town can accomodate 300 people but is unoccupied except during the season of planting and harvesting. The rest of the year not more than one or two

families remain there to guard property. It is 18 miles S. of Wingate. Outside of the town, are the sheep & goat corrals, built of pine branches, stuck in the ground & held together by rough wattle work.

Our direction thus far had been due S. but after driving for a couple of hours along a good road, leading across a sag in a hill covered plentifully with timber of the same kind seen this morning but smaller in size, we turned W. and entered a broad open valley of poor soil, but covered with a thin growth of grass and herbage suitable for sheep, several flocks of which were to be seen on either side of road, guarded by Zuni boys. This valley I should judge has water for several months of the year (tributary to the Nutria.) At w. end of the valley, lava protruded above ground. We are undoubtedly at considerable elevation above sea level; the day tho' bright and fair and sunny, has a very chilly breeze.

Here is situated the ruin called "old Zuni." It consists now of nothing but huge piles of loose rock, with the following ground plan, which I paced.

The boundaries lie according to the *apparent* median; as I was pacing A-B, my shadow fell directly in front of me, along the former line of wall, (time 5 p. m., May 18th, 1881.) At x x x, the wall can still be traced in places, 18" thick and formed about as at Nutria, of rock (rubble) from 4" cube to 10" cube, laid in mud. The rock is sandstone with now and then a small boulder of lava, and is such as is to be found in abundance in immediate proximity to the ruin. The creek, (it has no water, except a couple of small pools) is directly in front, with "cut-banks" of clay. At M. occurs the protrusion of lava I have alluded to. The "command" over the surrounding valley is very feeble; at the very highest point, which I have designated the "citadel," not being 25 ft.

The interior is strewn with fragments of pottery; of these I picked up as many as I could carry in my pocket; the ornamentation was varied; in some, it has been made with a knotted cord and on others was plainly visible a peculiar finger nail decoration very much like that employed by old time cooks in Arizona for embellishing the rind of their dried apple pies. Where colors had been employed, they were still bright. The surroundings of this village impressed me with the idea that it had been occupied for much the same purpose as Nutria is today—an outlying town inhabited during the harvest season.



(A SKETCH IN WATER-COLORS BY JOHN G. BOURKE, PASTED IN HIS NOTEBOOK
OF MAY-JUNE, 1881)

The only sign of life near the ruins was a gray burro who nodded his long ears at us as if to express a desire to open conversation.

Road became very sandy.

A mile W. of the old ruin, we passed between two very high sand stone mesas; that on left, 400' high, masked by a feeble growth of cedar: that on the R. 250' high, a solid mass of sandstone, with enough soil in the rock at intervals to afford life to a small number of stunted cedar bushes. In center of the pass is a "finger rock" of white sandstone at least 150' high. At this point there projects from the L. hand mesa a flying buttress pierced by a large elliptical orifice, through which the rays of the descending sun beamed with strange effect. At end of the pass we came upon another large herd of Zuni sheep, numbering 2,000 @ 3000.

Emerging from the pass, we entered a broad plain, dotted with high, isolated masses of sandstone, of enormous dimensions, some of them grand enough to be called peaks or mesas. The soil of the plain must be good as it supports a liberal growth of sagebrush, a sure indication. Here we came to another large flock of sheep and goats and in a moment or two more to the banks of a creek, dammed up to irrigate fields, protected by scare-crows and provided with the adobe shelters, seen up at Nutria. Three (3) miles farther we reached *Zuni*, a short time before dark. Put up at the Gov't forage Agency and store of Mr. Graham, where I met that gentleman, Dr. Ealy, Mr. Hathorn (the cook and assistant) and Mr. Cushing.¹²

Dr. Ealy is a missionary sent out with his wife by the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Cushing is the brother of Mr. Frank Cushing who, under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institute, has taken up a residence among the Zunis, been adopted into the tribe, learned the language & familiarized himself with the manners & traditions of this really strange people. Unfortunately, *he* was absent from the village, at the time of my visit, thus depriving me of a most invaluable guide. Hathorn, the cook, was formerly one of our packers during the Apache Campaign (1872-3) and being a great admirer of General Crook, extended me a reflection of the courtesy and attention he would have extended to my chief had he been present. First, my keen appetite did full justice

12. This was Mr. E. L. Cushing. See below.

to a plentiful supper of fried bacon, stewed dried apples, bread & tea.

Then I took an evening stroll about the town, more for the purpose of stretching my limbs than of attempting to describe it. This had been the day for plucking the sacred eagles, a dozen of which plundered monarchs of the air moped moodily in large wicker cages built upon the ground, in the corners of buildings in the street. Quantities of "green" pottery of every description were to be seen in every dwelling and other quantities of it burning in the gentle heat of blazing cow dung.

The clay used seems to have a proportion of talc and is mixed with *old* pottery, pounded to powder the fineness of sawdust. After the mass had been thoroughly kneaded with water, it is taken in lumps of suitable size into which the squaw inserts her thumb and by constantly but gradually enlarging this, keeping the mass wet all the time, it is made large enough to place upon a round stone of size convenient to serve as a table, held in left hand as a support. Upon this stone it is gently patted by a small piece of flat wood or gourd, and kept wet until it has attained the desired shape when it is carefully placed in the sun to dry. My description is obscure, but it is the best I can do.

Climbing up by ladders, I entered a number of the houses; many of the windows are of fragments of selenite (sulphate of lime) held in place by mud. Noticed dolls for children, made of wood, rudely cut out, but having backs of head decked with sheepskin & feather ornaments.

Mr. Hathorn and Dr. Ealy told me this evening that the Zunis have clans, one being the "parrot" clan (?) They say they came from the West and at one time lived on the Agua Fria in Arizona, where at Bowers Ranch, 15 m. from Prescott, may still be seen the walls of an old (so-called) Aztec residence. They still, at long intervals, make pilgrimages to the Ocean. Dr. Ealy says they have secret societies, much like those of the Sioux and Northern tribes.

May 19th, 1881. A cloudy morning. 3 of our mules last night jumped over the fence of the corral in which they were confined and made their way back on the road to Ft. Wingate. A promise of a reward of one dollar stimulated a couple of Zuni boys to go back after them and they were recaptured in less than no time.

The ruined church on the opposite page, I found to be 11 paces in width, 42 in length, and about 30 ft high in the

clear inside. The windows never had been provided with panes and were nothing but large apertures barred with wood. The carvings about the altar had at one time included at least half a dozen angels as caryatides, of which 2 still remained in position.¹³ The interior is in a ruined state, great masses of earth have fallen from the north wall; the choir is shaky and the fresco has long since dropped in great patches upon the floor. The presence of 5 or 6 different coats of this shows that the edifice must have been in use for a number of years. A small graveyard in front contained a few scarcely discernible graves and a squad of Zunis were digging a fresh one as I sketched, surrounded by a parcel of boys and girls and dogs.

Wandering about the town, I came upon numbers of cages, built upon the ground, each holding a grand looking eagle.

The Zunis, as I said yesterday, keep them for their feathers and one fierce bird still moped disconsolate for the loss of his splendid plumage stripped from him last evening.

Diminutive garden patches scattered in various parts of the pueblo, were filled with freshly sprouting onions, chile and other vegetables. Looking into a house as I passed by, I saw two dames close by the door, the elder of the two critically examining the head of her companion to clean it of parasites. When found, the poor, innocent little insects were remorselessly crushed between the teeth of the hunter. Not being a member of the society for the prevention of Cruelty to Animals, I did not attempt to interfere. I also saw men knitting blue yarn leggings just as among the Navajoes.

Mr. Graham had an idea that the negro or Moor (Estevanico) who had been a captive among these people (1530-1536),¹⁴ and who had returned to this country with the expedition of Coronado (1541-43) by whose soldiers he was put to death for treachery,¹⁵ had left the impress of his features upon some of the present generation and especially upon one whom he called my attention to. But, after a careful examination of the Zuni's features, I could not detect the

13. So far as known to the editor, this architectural feature has not been reported regarding any other of the early missions in New Mexico. Unfortunately, Bourke made no interior sketches of the old Zuñi church in his notebook.

14. During the time indicated, Estevanico was among the Texas Indians. He did not reach Zuñi until 1539, scouting ahead for Fray Marcos de Niza.

15. Bourke adds a note: "This was a slip of the pen; the natives of the country killed him." Also the Coronado years were 1540-1542.

slight resemblance to the negro. Mr. Graham says that this man's hair when short is curly; when I looked at it, it was long, wavy, finer than that of the other Zunis, but like theirs dishevelled.

Went with Mr. E. L. Cushing, brother of Frank, on a tour of the town. Saw several women drying their hair in the sun and several others having theirs cleaned by the process previously explained.

Saw 7 or 8 eagles. Entered a house where the women were weaving blankets on rude looms. Saw a young kid, stuffed with wool, to be used as a doll by babies. Saw many feathers attached to sticks to be placed in their fields with prayer, as a sort of sacrifice to propitiate the powers above.

Came upon a party of Albinos, of whom there are (9) nine among the Zunis. These Albinos have very red faces and necks, looking very much as if they were flushed by liquor or exposure to a warm sun. The hair is yellowish white and the iris of the eye is colorless, which undoubtedly renders it powerless to resist the rays of the sun, as an Albino when talking to you is constantly blinking. These Albinos are in every respect, physically or intellectually, the equals of their darker skinned comrades, with whom they intermarry unrestrainedly.

The streets are filled with mangy dogs, children of both sexes and all ages, the younger wearing no dress save a pair of malachite ear-rings. Most of the houses are entered by ladders, doors on the ground floor being a very recent innovation. It amazed me to see dogs climb up and down these ladders, something I should never have believed had I not seen it with my own eyes: their example was imitated every minute by naked little boys and girls, too young almost to be out of their mother's arms.

I will now note down seriatim what I saw after entering one of the houses. The women were busy weaving blankets or grinding corn; not knowing about weaving, I cannot employ technical terms, and must limit myself to saying that in this case the blanket was one of the kind worn across a woman's shoulder and woven in (5) five colors; scarlet, black, deep blue and light blue, with a triple-twisted yellow cord on the longitudinal edges; the four main colors being run in horizontal stripes and bands, with pleasing effect. The Zunis have no chairs, but make a substitute of flat blocks of wood. Very many of the floors are of flat stone, in whole or part. Around (3) sides of the living

1330. The lower wall of the room had painted upon it in quite good style an antelope, 6' in length and nearly the same measurement to tips of horns.



See page 1367.



The Zuni employ the "bow-drill".

A.B. is a stick $\frac{1}{4}$ " in D. 12" x 14" in length, tipped at B with a flint, attached by D sinews. C.D. is a flat horizontal piece, $\frac{1}{2}$ " in W. at widest point, tapering towards extremities, nine inches long and perforated at E. to admit of being slipped over A.B. to which it is fastened by thin leather thong running from C. and D. to B. D. is a balance bob of feet wood or sandstone 3" in diameter.

The operator twirls C.D. so as to twist the leather strings around A.B. He then places the flint point over the object to be pierced which he

room extends a banquette 6" h. and 12" broad, serving as a seat and also as a shelf.

After lunch, was taken around the town by Jesús Iriarte, a Mexican, who when quite a boy was captured by Apaches, near San Francisco del Promontorio, in Sonora, Mexico, and by the Apaches traded off to the Zunis. The Zunis say that, in war, *they* take *no* captives.

The Zunis today are arranging for a grand rabbit-hunt on horseback. They make use of a weapon, closely resembling the description given of the "boomerang." It is of hard, bent wood, . . .¹⁶ This weapon does *not* return to the feet of the owner.

The Indians in this house offered me refreshments of "tortillas," which tasted sweet and good.

The description given of the first room seen yesterday at Nutria applies to this one, except that this is 50' l. 20' w. and 10' high, plastered white on the inside, having a flat sandstone flagging for floor, kept very neat and well supplied with food. The lower wall of the room had painted upon it in quite good style an antelope, 6' in length and nearly the same measurement to tips of horns.

The Zunis employ the "bow drill."

A-B is a stick $\frac{1}{4}$ " in D. 12" @ 14" in length tipped at B with a flint, attached by sinew. C-D is a flat horizontal piece, $\frac{1}{2}$ in. w. at widest point, tapering towards extremities, six inches long and perforated at E. to admit of being slipped over A-B to which it is fastened by thin leather thongs running from C and D to A. F is a balance bob of flat wood or sandstone 3" in diameter. The operator twirls C-D so as to twist the leather strings around A-B. He then places the flint point over the object to be pierced which he holds in place with L. hand while he gently but continuously moves the horizontal bar C-D up and down, causing A-B to revolve with rapidity. In my presence a Zuni drilled a hole through a horn comb in two minutes. In making turquoise and malachite beads great patience is demanded; yet it is with this simple instrument that all perforations are made.

The Zuni moccasin is thus made: sole, of rawhide, following plant of foot and turned up while green to form a protection for the great toe, but not as a toe shield, such as the Apaches have to employ who live in a cactus and rock

16. Bourke's sketch looks like a hockey stick with a short haft. "Throw with the point to the front."

covered country. The legging attached to the moccasin of the women, is of buckskin & white in color, while those made for the men are generally colored or black and separated from the moccasin. The moccasin of the Zunis resembles that of the Navajoes in being fastened by silver buttons on the outside of the instep like our low quarter shoes. The buckskin leggings of the squaws are in two pieces; one, a narrow tongue piece 4" wide and the other an ankle protector, both reaching to the knee; the pattern is something of an exaggeration of our style of winter overshoe known as the "Arctic snow-excluder." The Zunis use woolen leggings under the buckskin and in winter, overshoes of sheep-skin, with the wool inside.

While I was writing the above, my old classmate, Lieutenant Carl F. Palfrey,¹⁷ Corps of Engineers, whom I had not met since we graduated (1869) came up to me calling out "Hi, John Bourke, what the devil are *you* doing here?" Of course, we were delighted to see each other and passed the rest of the day in company examining the town.

The Zunis make three kinds of bread; the flat tortilla of the Mexicans; tissue bread such as the Moquis use, (both these are baked upon flat stones on the hearth) and the ordinary loaf bread baked in the hemispherical mud ovens already described. Their leaven is salt and water, yeast powder, and sour dough, the last made, when necessary with *saliva*.

A crier now roared through the street that the preparations for "jack-rabbit" hunt were complete and in a very few moments throngs of young bucks had saddled & bridled their ponies and started for the place of rendezvous, whither also groups of men on foot were wending their way.

I borrowed a pony and started with Mr. Cushing, followed by the brother of the "Gobernador" (Governor) a very dandified chap in pantaloons of black velvet, decked with silver buttons, a red shirt and a dark blue plush cap also girt with buttons of the precious metal. We jogged along over gentle hills and flat red-clay valleys, passing through stretches of corn fields, and a distance of something more than 2 leagues from Zuni, ascended a small timbered knoll, upon whose summit was burning a small fire, the rallying point for a concourse of not less than 450 young

17. Carl F. Palfrey, native of Massachusetts, entered West Point in October, 1865, and graduated fourth in his class. In June 1870 he was assigned to the 1st U. S. Artillery; transferred two years later to the engineers, and was promoted to 1st lieutenant in September 1874.

men & old, 2/3 of them mounted: no women or girls could be seen but an old man was haranguing the multitude giving instructions upon the manner of conducting the hunt and, as I surmised from what I soon afterward saw, interspersing his remarks with advice of a religious character.

When he had concluded, the Zunis in parties of 6 to 10, approached the fire and with head bowed down and in a manner sedate and reverent, recited in an audible tone prayers of considerable length, at same time holding towards the fire in the left hand a crust of bread and in the right one or two boomerangs, (I can call them by no other name.) The prayers finished, the crusts were placed in the fire and the boomerangs held in the smoke; the devotees then divided, one part moving off by the L., the other by the Right hand. The whole concourse went through this ceremony, those on horseback dismounting before approaching the sacred fire, and the crusts of bread making a pile 2 or 3 ft. high.

My presence near the fire was the source of much sarcastic comment and hilarity to the Zunis who had finished their devotions, but I stood my ground with the cheek of a lightning-rod agent.

The Indians rapidly scattered over the face of the country, here covered with stunted cedar and sage brush and well suited as a hiding place for jack-rabbits. The dismounted battalion acted as beaters, the horsemen pursuing the frightened animals the moment they broke cover. The dust scattered and the amount of exertion made should have sufficed to catch and kill a hundred buffaloes, but up to the moment of my departure, not a single jack-rabbit was caught and the result of all this vast expenditure of labor was, as I learned at night, only *four rabbits!* This fact, connected with the religious features I had witnessed impressed me with the conviction that this hunt is a religious ceremony and that it may be a survival of some mode of catching game in use at a time when their manner of life was much different from what it is today. The rabbits caught were not eaten by the Zunis but fed to the sacred cha-ka-li, or eagles.

Tired out with waiting, we started on the homeward track and ran in upon a half dozen boys playing the game of "kicking the sticks." They were arranged in (2) two sides, each having a stick and the object, apparently, was for either side to kick his own stick to the goal first; without in

any way interfering with the movements of its opponents. I couldn't study the game very closely, because the youngsters broke up their play and ran like deer the moment they perceived us close upon them.

A little closer to Zuni, we came to another party of much younger children, engaged in digging for field mice; they had (6) six, but, in answer to my sign, said they did not intend to eat them. Like the Mokis, the Zunis feed them to the eagles.

Having reached the village, I went around again with Palfrey, this time buying several silver rings &c.

Palfrey and I had a rather better dinner than usual, he contributing to the bill of fare at Mr. Graham's a bottle of Cal. Sherry and one of Cal. Claret from his mess-chest.

Mr. Chas. Franklin, of Arizona, came to Zuni this evening; he had formerly lived with the tribe for 3 yrs. and was formally adopted as a member. I had not seen him for 9 years and was glad to be thus thrown with him, as in the absence of Mr. Frank Cushing, he can elucidate many points of interest now involved in obscurity.

About ten o'clock, I accompanied Palfrey to his wagons and returning I was beset by a horde of snapping mangy Zuni dogs, whose number I freely estimated at half a million more or less.

May 20th, 1881. Breakfast over, Mr. Graham took me to one of the corrals to see the Zunis shearing their sheep. The corral was a simple affair of small poles fastened with rawhide and contained as many as 250 sheep and goats, whose bleating and baa-aa-ing made the place a pandemonium. A man would seize a sheep by the hind leg, and as soon as the animal had become exhausted with kicking a squaw would seize the front leg on the same side and thus easily throw the sheep down, when all four feet were promptly tied together and the shearing began; the instruments employed being butcher knives, sharpened pieces of sheet iron and, occasionally, shearing scissors. In their herds, I noticed hybrids,—half sheep—half goats: the skin of one of these serves as a rug in Mr. Graham's.

Bought a pair of Zuni ear-rings, of same style as those of the Navajoes—paid for them \$1.50.

I have now been enough among the Zunis to observe that not a half-breed can be seen among them; this remark does not apply to the children of men, like Jesús, adopted into the tribe.

A woman passed us crying bitterly for the loss of her mother who died yesterday. The funeral came along in a few moments and we had every opportunity for observing it. The corpse wrapped in a couple of coarse black & white striped blankets, was borne along in a hurried manner, by two men, one holding the head, the other the feet. They took the nearest line to the church: no procession followed, but as they passed the house of relatives of the deceased, the women seated themselves at the doors or windows and wept aloud, keeping up their lamentations until the corpse had been placed underground. The grave was not over 3 ft. in depth and had already served as a place of sepulture for not less than half a dozen of the tribe, that number of skulls having been thrown out during the work of excavation. It was on the L. hand side of the cemetery, facing the church: all the women are buried on this side, the males on the other. The corpse was placed on its back, feet toward the church—the church faced East, the two carriers then raked in the loose earth and human bones and the ceremony was over.

The Zunis have primitive agricultural implements; one of wood is shaped like a stilt and by placing the foot upon the cross piece a hole can readily be made in ground into which to drop seed.

Their yellow dye is a tuber, closely resembling a rotten sweet potato; bitter to taste, disagreeable to smell and perhaps poisonous. Their red is unravelled scarlet cloth or flannel. Blue is indigo purchased from traders & set with urine. Black and white are the natural wool.

Bought from Mr. Graham and the Zunis, 35 pieces of pottery, which I carefully packed in saw dust for transportation to Wingate.

Palfrey and I entered an old Zuni dwelling, where I purchased a boomerang for 10c. The room was 15' W. 50' long 10'6" high. Floor of packed earth. On 3 sides, a small banquette, in which was a break of 3 ft. on E. side. 2 small windows 1'x2', at height of eye as man stands on floor: here the panes were of glass, but very frequently they are pieces of selenite, held in place by a white lime cement. The windows were deep in wall, top & sides square, sole of sill sloping toward floor for 2 ft. *Vigas*, round, peeled of bark, 6"-12" in D. Cross pieces 3" in D. 18" apart—these covered with twigs and the twigs with hays, upon which came the mud & stone flooring of the upper story. In ceiling of every room is an air-hole, one ft. square, covered with a flat stone,

when ventilation is not needed. Walls all whitewashed. House itself of adobe, with some pieces of rough rubble masonry of friable sandstone, breaking squarely in all thicknesses & from 2 to 6" in length and width up to 2'. In one corner a *rack* for ollas, and along one side a trough or bin divided into from 4 @ 8 compartments, each with a metate of graded fineness from the rough lava to very fine sandstone. (Each house keeps on hand surplus metates and crushers.) The vigas in this house looked as if they had been cut with stone axes but this is something I cannot aver with certainty. Blankets are kept upon poles suspended from rafters. Upon the walls hang gourd rattles and a peculiar drum stick.¹⁸

Also boxes filled with feathers of the sparrow hawk, blue jay, turkey, eagle, wrapped in paper; in these boxes, were also preserved their little store of face paints.

The floor contained skins of sheep and goats and square blocks of hard wood—all used as seats. The chimneys have already been described. Ladders are still used for entering houses, but within the past ten years the innovation of doors opening upon the level of the ground floor has very generally obtained. Niches are to be seen in nearly every wall; a closer examination reveals the fact that at these points the walls are merely slabs of stone easy to be removed and, in case one part of the town should be captured, enabling the inhabitants to escape through these apertures to portions not yet in possession of the enemy. At one time, no doubt, the people of Zuni were in constant apprehension of attacks from hostile neighbors.

The smell in Zuni is outrageous. Decayed meat, sheep and goats' pelts, excrement human and animal, unwashed dogs and Indians, fleas, lice and bed-bugs (the houses in Zuni are full of these last), garbage of every kind—it must be regarded as a standing certificate of the salubrity of this climate that a single Zuni is in existence today.

(To be continued)

18. Shown in a small sketch like a figure "6".

BOOK REVIEWS

Death In The Desert. By Paul I. Wellman. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1935; xiv+294 pp; bibliog., map, illustrations, index; \$3.00.)

Death In The Desert is the second of two books by Paul I. Wellman, a newspaper man of Wichita, dealing with the tempestuous, bloody beginnings of the present day Indian problem.

His first book, *Death On The Prairie*, published in 1934, covered the struggle to subdue the Indians of the Great Plains from the beginning of the Sioux warfare in Minnesota in 1862 to the final, last-hope rally of the Plains tribes around the Indian Messiah in 1891.

Death In The Desert deals with what the author calls the "Fifty Years War For the Great Southwest." He covers fifty years and more in point of time, from 1822 to 1886, but he has also managed, by some geographical stretch of the imagination, to include in the war for the great southwest an account of the struggles with the Modocs in Oregon!

Neither of these books contributes anything new in material on the years of Indian warfare, but the digging out of new evidence was not the author's purpose. He had done what anyone might do, and what very few have done—gathered together reliable personal narratives, state documents, military records, historical society records, and then, after making this material his own, he has produced a vivid dramatic portrayal of what happened when Redman and Whiteman behaved alike as savages or supermen. Too many books in the past have whitewashed the white man; too many in recent years have attempted the same treatment for the red man. Mr. Wellman is sternly just to both sides or equally condemnatory as the case may warrant.

The criticism may be made that these books are journalistic in style, but if a well thought out plan of presentation, a sympathetic interpretation of character, and an

ability to recreate a scene in the vivid details of sound and smell and sight represent journalism, then it is good journalism.

These are books that are primarily for laymen—they may move some laymen to want to delve more deeply into the lengthy material of the bibliography—but they are also books for historians. They might teach some historians that history is drama and can be written in an entertaining as well as an accurate manner.

Death On The Prairie seems to be the better of the two books in style and technic and presentation of material. Both are well documented, and maintain a consistent point of view. The illustrations in each, obtained from various historical collections, are adequate; and *Death In The Desert* contains a map of sorts that must be, even for the most casually reading layman, a great improvement over the mapless *Death On The Prairie*.

The foreword in *Death In The Desert* with its vague reference to Indian migrations and its attempt to build up character for the Apaches adds nothing. It is not consistent in tone nor style nor accuracy with the rest of the book.

The Apaches were not the only people whose name for themselves meant the People. It was a characteristic of most of the tribes of Athapascan stock. Neither did the fact that the word Apache was derived from the Zuñi word for enemy mean that this tribe were more than ordinarily ferocious. To one tribe all other tribes not their allies, were enemies, and the early white men, hearing them so referred to, accepted that name. The word Sioux, for instance comes from the Chippewa name for enemy.

The Apache does not need the build-up that the author attempted to give him in the foreword; his character speaks for itself in the pages that follow. Furthermore, to thus emphasize this tribe in the beginning spoils the unity of the book since Mr. Wellman logically includes in his story of the southwest the uprising in Taos in 1846 and illogically drags in the Modoc disgrace of 1871.

In spite of minor criticisms, Mr. Wellman has done an interesting study of Indian warfare as a whole. His two books are a welcome contribution to the background of the Indian problem of today.

MILDRED S. ADLER.

Albuquerque.

The Texas Rangers. By Walter Prescott Webb. (Houghton Mifflin Company, The Riverside Press, Boston, 1935. 584 pp., ill. by Lonnie Rees. \$5.00.)

Dovetailing into the history of New Mexico at a number of points, the story of the Texas Rangers as presented by Professor Webb of the University of Texas, is not only well written and thoroughly documented but it is as thrilling a tale, or series of tales, as is to be found in western literature. Hollywood could find between its covers plots for a score of films more exciting than any movie portraying modern gangsters and their pursuit by G-men. As a contribution to southwestern history of the past hundred years it merits high rating. To a large extent biographical, it recounts vividly the incidents of border warfare along the Rio Grande from Brownsville to El Paso. It records in detail the story of Indian raids along the New Mexico and Oklahoma boundaries, of train robberies, bank lootings, stage hold-ups, livestock thieving and banditry in general during the century from 1835, when the Rangers were first organized, to 1935, when they were reorganized into highway patrols. Like the Canadian mountain police, the Texas Rangers got their man even if they had to disregard international law and the niceties of court procedure. Though small in number the Rangers found it necessary to kill more than five thousand outlaws in establishing order in a domain larger than the German Empire. It was said of the Rangers that "they could ride like Mexicans; trail like Indians; shoot like Tennesseans and fight like the devil," and it took all that and more to create a record of daring and achieve-

ment such as stands to their credit. They protected society from its enemies with a vigor which has given them immortal fame. The careers of the dominant figures typify the traits of the force as a whole. The author has done well in making this evident as he takes up the lives of the commanding officers chronologically.

However, there are also picturesque chapters descriptive of phases of history more far-reaching than the warfare with bandits, or the biographies of individuals. The account of the battle of Monterey might well take its place among the classics which should be found in every advanced school reader. "The El Paso Salt War" and "The Las Cuevas War" are chapters in which clashes between Mexican and Texan reached high points in the continuous strife of these elements along the Rio Grande. Across the pages of this well-written book march outlaws who served as prototypes for Billy the Kid, and also others as popular and romantic as Robin Hood who stole and killed so that they might give to the poor. Altogether fascinating these true stories have an appeal which should bring to the book many readers outside of the boundaries of the Lone Star State.

The volume is well illustrated with fine drawings by Lonnie Reeves and many interesting photographs. The typography is attractive and the press work on the heavy, glossy paper is excellent. The large format and wide margins together with the artistic arrangement of citations and quotations on an introductory page to each chapter give distinctiveness to the book. A detailed index and a bibliography add to its value for the student of southwestern history.—P. A. F. W.

Arte en America y Filipinas, cuaderno I. Director, Diego Angulo fñiguez. (Spain, Universidad de Sevilla, 1935. 8 pesetas.)

Unusual interest will be found by many of our readers and exchange libraries in this brochure of 94 pages. It is the initial issue of a series which is to appear "without fixed

date, in cuadernos of some eighty pages, at the price of eight pesetas each. Every four cuadernos will constitute a volume."

It bears the imprint of the University of Seville, in which Professor Iñiguez directs the teaching of the colonial arts of Hispano-America; but it is sent out from the "Center of Studies in the History of America" on the Triana side of the Guadalquivir which was opened in 1929 and has been doing such excellent work, under the auspices of the University and directed by Prof. José Maria Ots Capdequi.

Inspired by a recent visit to the Museum of Mexico and by archival material which he has found in Madrid and Seville, Professor Iñiguez himself contributes the principal study of this number (pp. 1-75), "La Academia de Bellas Artes de Mejico y sus pinturas españolas," accompanied by twenty-six beautiful illustrations. It is an intriguing, fascinating account, one which opens up a phase of Spanish colonial history of which we know far too little.

A shorter but also important paper (pp. 76-88) is by Sr. Antonio Muro Orejón: "Alonso Rodríguez, primer arquitecto de las Indias," the celebrated architect of Seville with whom the House of Trade made a contract in 1510 for the building of certain parochial churches in the Island of Hispaniola,—but who (the records show) never went to the Island. But he seems to have supplied the plans which were later used. Three other short articles or notes conclude the issue.

The Universities of Seville and Buenos Aires¹ are opening up a line of research and study which has great possibilities. What universities in the United States will follow the lead?—L. B. B.

1. See N. MEX. HIST. REV., X, 169.

ERRATA

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(additional to those on p. 348)

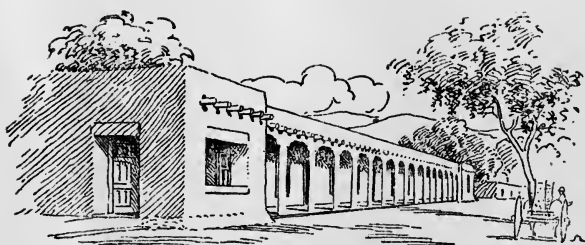
- p. 273, line 31, *read* seized.
- p. 302, note, *for* West Point *read* Annapolis.
- p. 307, line 31, *for* three *read* there.
- p. 329, note, *for* Doway *read* Douay.
- p. vi, line 28, *for* Father *read* Brother.

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OF THE

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(As amended Nov. 19, 1929)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

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Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

Article 7. *Publications.* All publications of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. *Meetings.* Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. *Quorums.* Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. *Amendments.* Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Lansing B. Bloom, State University, Albuquerque, New Mexico.





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PETER HEYLYN'S COSMOGRAPHY OF NEW MEXICO

By HERBERT O. BRAYER

WHILE the servants of Philip II were extending the borders of Spain's holdings deep into the North American continent, establishing a monopolistic system destined to make the Spanish crown the richest in the civilized world, certain of Spain's neighbors began to take more than a passing interest in the exploits of the *conquistadores*. Reports from New Spain were quickly spread through France, England, and the Netherlands. Reprints of the *relations* were published throughout Europe, gaining wide circulation and causing no little interest.

The English, among others, were commencing to think of the New World to the west. England was getting the *feel* of her sea-legs. Under Elizabeth, peace and prosperity had taken the place of chaos. Interest, which for almost a century had been centered on internal and external strife, was now free to seek beyond the borders of the British Isles. The Cabots, Hawkins, Drake, and Frobisher were setting forth, carrying the lion-crested banner of England to the Seven Seas.

Inspired and guided by the Spanish tales of wealth, these sea-dogs were not loath to take advantage of the accounts of discoveries and explorations which were reprinted in England. In 1582, Richard Hakluyt published the first of his great works on geography and history, *Divers Voyages*

Touching the Discovery of America. This was followed by a translation, in 1587, by Cadman, of an account of Espejo's exploration of New Mexico. The next year, 1588, Parke published his notable *History of the Great and Mightie Kingdome of China*, which was a translation of the Mendoza work of similar title. Many of the Spanish explorations were mentioned and mapped in various works during the sixteenth century. New Mexico, under the names *Nova Granata*, *California*, and *Quivira*, was often mentioned.¹

The account contained in this paper is from the famous *Cosmography* by Peter Heylyn, great English historian and controversialist. At the unusually youthful age of eighteen, Heylyn became a fellow at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he soon began to lecture on cosmography. In 1625 his first work in geography was published entitled *Mikrokosmos*. The success of this work was instantaneous, proving so popular that it soon exhausted eight editions. It was perhaps the most extensive geography of its day. It soon, however, brought its youthful author trouble as well as glory. James I took offense at that passage of the book which said, "France is the greater and more famous kingdom" than England. Heylyn, displaying the quick wit which characterized his whole life as well as his writing, explained that *is* was a misprint for *was*, and that the passage referred to the time of Edward II. In subsequent editions, however, the clause was conspicuous by its absence.

But Heylyn's interest in geography waned in the light of a new and weightier problem which was approaching a rapid and tumultuous crisis. Puritanism was sweeping England and was soon to engulf that island. It was to become the great motivating force of the period. Always interested in religious questions, the young Magdalen College Fellow now found himself engaged in a series of controversies which were to lead to his downfall and flight. He disputed with John Prideaux, regius professor of divinity at Oxford; he replied to the *Arguments* of John Williams in

1. Lynam, Edward, curator of Maps, British Museum. Private correspondence.

his pamphlets, *A Coal from the Altar*, and *Antidotum Lincolnense*; he assisted William Noy to prepare the case against Prynne for the publication of his *Histriomastix*, and made himself useful to the Royalist party in other ways. He now became a favorite of the king, editing a virulent news-sheet at Oxford called *Mercurius Aulicus*; but, for his ardor, his rectory at Alresford was plundered and his library dispersed.

The period of the Commonwealth proved a very trying one for Heylyn, who was forced to flee for his life. He wandered for several years, always in disguise, until 1648, when he settled at Minster Lovel, Oxfordshire, the home of his elder brother. Here, although still a fugitive, he was left unmolested by the Cromwellian forces. Now he was able to return to his studies, and, remembering the advice given him by a bystander during his examination before the commons' committee that "Geography is better than Divinity," he again took up this study. He enlarged his *Mikrokosmos* into a *Cosmography*, which was published in 1652. This book, containing all the new material on the New World that he was able to obtain, ran into many editions and was widely known and discussed. There are copies of several original editions in the United States. The Library of Congress has a 1665, a 1670, and a 1677 edition. The Boston Museum of Fine Arts has one of the 1669 editions, while the John Carter Brown Library and Harvard University Library each own a copy of the 1674 edition. Of the original publication, printed in 1652, a copy is now in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, a gift of Mr. Henry R. Wagner of San Marino, California. For the text of this paper the 1665 edition was used.

An attempt has been made to trace the sources of Heylyn's information, but it has been found that he differs in many instances from most of the known works on New Mexico in use during his day. It is highly probable that he consulted most of the works mentioned earlier in this introduction. It is known, however, that Heylyn was a student of the

languages and undoubtedly obtained and read many of the original Spanish accounts of the *relations*. In several places reference is made by Heylyn to the writings of Juan de Laet, whose sketches on America were printed in both Spanish and Latin. Footnotes have been added to call the attention of the reader to marked similarities between Heylyn's account and the Spanish records. These bits of what was then termed "authentic information," together with the biting wit which Heylyn generously spread through the pages, undoubtedly accounted for the tremendous success of the *Cosmography*. In the documentary portion of this paper the spelling has not been corrected, but has been left as it originally appeared in the *Cosmography*.

THE COSMOGRAPHY

"CALIFORNIA in the large and general acception of it, containeth all those Provinces of *Mexicana*, which lie on the West side of that Northern *Peninsula*, beyond *Nova Gallicia*, and *New Spain*: though in the stricter [sense], limited to that Province only which lieth on the other side of a long and spacious Gulf called *Mer Vermiglio*,² and from hence the Bay of *California*. But taking it in the largest sense, it hath on the West *New Spain & New Gallicia*, and so unto those undiscovered parts which lie furthest North, to the Streits of *Anian*. So witnesseth *John de Laet*,³ l.6.c.11. CALIFORNIA *communiter dicitur quicquid terrarum Novae Hispaniae atque Galliciae ad Occidentem objicitur, ad extremos Americae Septentrionalis terminos, & Fretum quod vulgo Anian vocant*.⁴ Limited in the stricter sense and

2. Mer Vermiglio, spelled by the Spanish *Mar Vermejo*, applied to the Gulf of California.

3. Belgian geographer and philologist. In 1624 he became a director in the West India Company, publishing several treatises on the New World. His works were printed in Latin and Spanish. Heylyn was familiar with the Latin editions. Laet's best known contributions with reference to the Americas were: *El Nuevo Mundo, o Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales*, Leiden 1625, and *Notae ad dissertationem H. Grotii de origine gentium americanarum*, the former being the work quoted by Heylyn.

4. "California generally is said to be whatever land is over against New Spain and Gallicia toward the west and towards the extreme borders of North America, and the sea which they generally call *Anian*."

acception of it, to an Island (as it is now generally conceived to be) extended in a full length from North to South, on the West hereof. So that for our more regular proceeding in the *Corographie* and Story of it, we must divide it into the Continent, and the Island; the Continent subdivided into the two large Provinces of 1 *Quivira*,⁵ and 2 *Cibola*,⁶ the Island into 3 *California* specially so called, and 4 *Nova Albion*.⁷

"And first, the Continent of this part which we call *California*, hath on the East some parts of *Nova Gallicia*; and besides that, those vast and undiscovered Countries, which lie on the West side of *Canada* and *Virginia*, on the opposite shore: bounded on the North with the unknown parts of this *Mexicana*; on the North-west, with the Streits of *Anian*,⁸ if such Streits there be; on the West with the Sea interposing betwixt it and the Island, called *Mer Vermiglio*; and on the South and South-west, with the rest of *Nova Gallicia*, from which parted by a great River called *Rio del Nort*.⁹ A River which rising in the 40 degree of Northern Latitude, first parteth *Tiguez* a Province of *Quivira*, from that of *New Mexico*, one of the Provinces of *Nova Gallicia*; and after a long course falleth into the Sea, called *Mer Vermiglio*, above *Cinoloa*, another of the Provinces of that Division. Divided as before was said, into the two great Provinces of 1 *Quivira*, and 2 *Cibola*.

"1. *QUIVIRA*, taking up the most Northern parts of this side of *America*, is said to be very plain and level; of few trees, not many houses, nor much stored of people; quite destitute of fruits and Corn, and yielding nothing for mans

5. *Quivira* was that region in which Coronado made his eventful trip in 1542, the exact location of which has been the subject of much discussion, but which authorities now place in the region of Kansas or northern Oklahoma.

6. *Cibola* was the name applied to the Zúñi pueblo region in northwestern New Mexico.

7. Named by Drake during his memorable trip around the world, 1570-80. The reference is to present day Northern California.

8. Straits of *Anian*, the mythical straits through the American continent which led to the rich spicelands of the Orient.

9. *Rio del Norte* was the name commonly applied by the Spanish to the *Rio Grande*. Heylyn has evidently confused the *Rio Grande* with the great *Colorado* in this description.

life but the flesh of Beasts, which they eat raw, and swallow down in great bits without any *chewing*. The men apparelled in Bulls skins from the head to the feet; the women, though in a cold Country, with no other garment than their hair, which they wear so long, that it serveth them in stead of a Veil to hide their *nakedness*. They live in *Hoords* and Companies, like the *Hoords* of the *Tartars*, not having any certain dwellings (except some chief men) but remove from one place to another, like the ancient *Nomades*. Near Neighbours unto *Tartary*, from whence (not being much distant from it) it is supposed that the Inhabitants first came, and from hence by degrees peopled all *America*.¹⁰

"The Country being full of Herbage, breeds great store of Cattel,¹¹ differing not much in bigness from those of *Europe*, but that they have high bunch betwixt their shoulders; bristled upon the back like Bores, with somewhat which resembleth the mane in Horses, and the beard in Goats; their legs short, and clad with fetlocks, their horns short, but sharp; the whole Beast of an aspect so horrid, that an Horse will not venture near them, till well acquainted. Yet in these Beasts lie all their riches, these being to this people, as we say with us of our *Ale* to Drunkards, meat, drink, and cloth, and more too. For the Hides yield them Houses, or at least the covering of them; their bones, bodkins; their hair, thread; their sinews, ropes; their horns, maws, and bladders, vessels; their dung, fire; their Calves skins budgets to draw and keep water; their blood, drink; and their flesh, meat. There is thought to be some traffique from *China*, or *Cathay*, hither: for when *Vasques di Coronado* conquered it, he saw in the further Sea certain ships, not of common making, which seemed to be well laden, and did bear in their prows

10. With modern ethnologists seemingly favoring the Bering Strait theory of migration in regard to the origin of the American Indian, it is interesting to note that this theory is far from new. Heylyn evidently held the same opinion.

11. Buffalo.

the figure of *Pelicans*,¹² which could not be conjectured to come from any Country but one of these two. I know, some place this Country more within the Land; and others are so far from letting it look towards any part of the Sea; that they have laid it close unto the back of *Virginia*. For my part, I have laid it along the Coasts, upon good authority; though I deny not but that some parts hereof may be more remote. Or else to reconcile the difference, it may thus be ended; that the *maritime* parts being known by other names, the *Inlands* might retain more specially the name of *Quivira*, as we have seen in many other Countries before described.

"And this I am the rather inclined to think, because I find mention of three Provinces on the North of *Cibola*, but in the way unto *Quivira*; the one called *Seio*,¹³ the other called *Cicuic*,¹⁴ and the third *Tiguez*,¹⁵ which I look upon as the maritime parts of the same one Country, but better peopled and frequented than the *In-lands* are, because lying in the way of traffique. The principal Towns of which *Provinces*, 1 *Acus*, or *Acuco*,¹⁶ a small Town, but situate in a strong and defensible place, about which groweth some store of *Cotton*, which from the place the Natives call by the name of *Acuco*. 2 *Tiguez*, on the banks of a River so called; inhabited by a stout and couragious people, who being resolved not to fall alive into the hands of the *Spaniards*, when besieged by *Vasques de Coronado*, after they had held out above six weeks, laid all their household-stuff and treasure in an heap

12. "He [Coronado] felt no slight joy at such good news, because the Turk said that in his country there was a river in the level country which was two leagues wide, in which there were fishes as big as horses, and large numbers of very big canoes, with more than 20 rowers on a side, and that they carried sails, and that their lords sat on the poop under awnings, and on the prow they had a great golden eagle," Winship, G. P., "Coronado Expedition 1540-1542," *14th Annual Report*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part I, 493.

13. This is perhaps another spelling for *Zia*, which, according to Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, had many different spellings.

14. Pecos pueblo in northern New Mexico.

15. The region which was occupied by the Tigua Indians in New Mexico, centering around the pueblos of Puaray and Kuaua, near Bernalillo. This name was also applied to a definite pueblo in this region, the site of which has not been definitely determined.

16. Acoma pueblo.

together, which they set on fire; and taking their Wives and children into the midst of their ranks, made a desperate sallie on the Enemy. A resolution worthy of a better fortune, most of them being slain in the fight, and the rest trod under the Horses feet, or drowned in passing over the River. Yet would not those few which were left give up the Town, till it was fired about their ears, and no longer tenable: the *Spaniards* buying this victory (notwithstanding the great odds of their Arms) with the loss of most of their Horses, the death of seven of their men, and wounding of eighty. 3 *Cicuick*,¹⁷ a small *Burrough*, but the chief of that Province, four dayes journey from *Tiguez*: from whence the whole way unto *Quivira*, specially so called, being 90 miles,¹⁸ hath in it neither Stone nor Tree, nor any landmark; insomuch as the *Spaniards* were fain to make heaps of *Cow-dung* to serve for their direction in their coming back.

"The first discovery of this Country is to be attributed to the diligence of *Antonio de Mendoza*, Vice-Roy of *Mexico*, who desirous to get wealth and honour by some new *Adventures*, imployed in the discovery of these Northern parts, Frier *Marco de Nisa*. By him and by a *Negro* which he had for his Guide, there was some light gotten of *Cibola*, the next Province to this; but so disguised in lyes, and wrapt up in fictions, that the light was little more than darkness. Yet by that glimmering, *Francisco Vasques di Coronado*, in the year 1540. undertook the business; and sped so well, that having made his way through *Cibola*, he took the town of *Tiguez*, as we heard before, and laid his way open to *Quivira*. Moved to a further journey by the report of the *Salvages*, (who desired to hasten him out of their Country) telling him of the wealth of *Tatarax*, who raigned in the In-land parts of *Quivira*: a bearded man (those of this Country wearing none) of a white complexion, and one who in his Chapel worshiped a *Cross*, and the Queen of *Heaven*. On went the *Spaniards* towards *Quivira*, and found out the *Tatarax*, a

17. Pecos pueblo.

18. This is, perhaps, a misprint, 900 miles being meant.

poor naked Prince, Master of no more Treasure than a brazen plate hanging on his breast, and without any such sign of *Christianity* as they did expect. So frustrated of all their hopes, and having got nothing but their labour for their pains, and the honour of a new discovery; with the loss of many of their men, they returned to *Mexico*, Anno 1542. Some Friars made bold to stay behind, but were all slain by the people of Quivira, except onely one, who like Jobs messenger was left to carry news of the murder: the *Spaniards* never looking into these cold Countries, where nothing else was to be gotten but blows and hunger.

2 *CIBOLA* hath on the North, *Quivira*; on the South, and South-east parts of *New Galicia*, from which divided by the River called *Rio del Nort*, as before was said; the West side of it washed with the *Mer Vermiglio*, interposed betwixt it and the Island, or *Califormia* especially so called.¹⁹ By the natives it is called *Zuni*.²⁰

"The air hereof indifferently temperate, if not too much subject in the Winter to frosts and snows. The country for the most part level, rarely swelled with Hills, but those very Rocky. No Trees that bear them any fruit; few Trees at all, except it be a Wood of Cedars, from which abundantly supplied with Fewel and Timber; plenty of Maize, and small white Pease, which they make their bread of; great store of Venison, but they kill it only for the skin; some quantities of Sheep, known for such by their *Fleeces* only, but otherwise as big each of them as an Horse, or Ox, some of their Horns weighing fifty pounds.²¹ Of Lions, Bears, and Tigers so great a number, that they have more than enough for themselves, and could well spare them to their Neighbors.

19. Lower or Baja California was thought to be an island by the early Spanish explorers. Maps made of it as late as 1725 show California as an Island. The island of California was long believed to be the home of a mythical race of Amazons who ruled the island without men. See accompanying map.

20. Only six of the Seven Cities of Cibola have been identified. The ancient Zuñi site of Hawikuh, some twenty miles to the southwest of the present pueblo, has been identified as one of the cities of Cibola, and probably the pueblo visited by Estevanico, the Negro, and later by Coronado.

21. "... we found many horns of rams which appeared to weigh upward of 16 pounds each." Hammond, G. P., and Rey, A., *The Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition to New Mexico*, 21.

"The people generally well limbed, and tall of stature, ingenious in respect of some other *Salvages*; and though naked except their privities only, or covered only with a Mantle, yet those *Mantles* wrought in divers colours: which, with some quantity of *Cotton* which they have amongst them (none of it growing in their Country) shew them to be an industrious Nation, and to maintain a course of trade with some of their neighbors. A further Argument of which, is those painted skins, which they have from *Cicuique*,²² or some other Country which lies towards the Ocean; my Author²³ telling that they travel for them eight dayes journey towards the North: and probably enough may be some of those Commodities, which the Inhabitants of the *maritime* Provinces of *Quivira* do receive from *Cathay*, or *China*, with which they are supposed to traffick, as before was said. Like industry is noted in the women also, one of which will grind and knead more *Maize* in a day, than the women of Mexico do in four. In other things not differing from the rest of the *Salvages*.

"This Country was first made known to the *Spaniards* by the Travels of Frier *Marco de Niza*, employed on new Discoveries by *Antonio de Mendoza*, as before was said. Leaving *Couliacan*, the most Northern Province of *Nova Gallicia*, he overcame a tedious Desart four days journey long; at the end of which he met some people, who told him of a pleasant Country four days journey further, unto which he went. And staying at the place called *Vacapa*,²⁴ he dispatched the *Negro*,²⁵ whom he took with him for his Guide, to search towards the North; by whom he was advertised after four days absence, that he had been informed of a large and

22. Pecos pueblo in New Mexico.

23. Just who is meant by "my Author" this writer has been unable to discover. Most records vary considerably from this description.

24. According to Hodge, *Vacapa* is the same as *Matape*. "An Eudeve settlement which evidently contained also some Coguinachi Opata, in Lat. 29°, Long. 110°, central Sonora Mexico." Bandelier also identified the *Vacapa* with the *Matape*. According to Davila, *Sonora Historico* (1894), 317, it was a Coguinachi pueblo.

25. The negro was *Estevanico*, a Moor, who had been with Cabeza de Vaca on the latter's six years of wandering from Texas to Sinaloa. Naturally the Negro's stories of his wanderings drew great attention, and led to his appointment as guide for Fray Marcos de Niza.

wealthy Province called *Cibola*, a moneths journey thence: wherein were seven great Cities under the Government of one Princess, the houses of which were built of stone, many stories high, the Lintels of their Doors adorned with Turquoises; with many other strange reports of their Markets, multitudes, and riches. But neither the Frier nor the *Negro* had the hap to see it; the *Negro* being killed on the very borders,²⁶ and the Frier so terrified with the news, that he thought it better to return, and satisfie the *Vice-Roy* with some handsome Fiction, than put himself upon the danger of a further journey. To that end he enlarged and amplified the Reports which the *Negro* sent him; gave to the Desarts in his way the name of the Kingdoms of *Tontea*c and *Marata*; ascribed unto this last a great City called *Abacu*,²⁷ once well inhabited, but at that time destroyed by Wars: to the other a more civil and well clothed people, than in other places, Inflamed with which reports, *Vasques de Coronado* undertook the action, but found the Frier to be a *Frier*; nothing of moment true in all his *Relations*: the Kingdom of *Marata*²⁸ to be found only in the Friars brains; *Tontea*c²⁹ to be nothing but a great Lake, on whose banks had once been many Cottages, now consumed by Wars. And as for the seven Cities

26. A Zuñi legend translated by Frank Cushing, noted authority on Zuñi lore, tells of the arrival and death of the negro, Estavanico. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 281-282. "It is to be believed that a long time ago, when roofs lay over the walls of Kya-ki-me, when smoke hung over the house-tops, and the ladder-rounds were still unbroken in Kya-ki-me, then the Black Mexicans came from their abodes in Everlasting Summerland . . . Then and thus was killed by our ancients, right where the stone stands down by the arroyo of Kya-ki-me, one of the Black Mexicans, a large man with chili lips (lips swollen from chili peppers) . . . Then the rest ran away, chased by our grandfathers, and went back toward their country in the Land of Everlasting Summer."

27. Hodge identified Abaca (spelled *Ahacus* by De Niza) as the ancient Zuñi pueblo of *Hawikah* which was situated some twenty miles southwest of the present pueblo of Zuñi.

28. Hakluyt, *Voyages*, III, 440, contains a description of *Marata* by Fray Marcos de Niza, describing it as a province southeast of *Cibola*. Regardless of Coronado's statement that the "Kingdom of *Marata* is not to be found, neither have the Indians any knowledge thereof," both Bandelier and Cushing have identified *Marata* with *Matyata*, or *Makyata*, a group of ruined pueblos between Zuñi and Acoma.

29. "Bandelier and Cushing believed the Hopi country, the later province of Tusayan, to be identical with the Totontea (Tontea) of Fray Marcos de Niza." Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 560.

of such Wealth and Bigness, he found them to be seven poor *Burroughs*; all situated within the compass of four leagues, which made up that so famous Kingdom of which the Frier dreamt of. The biggest of them held about 500 Cottages; the rest of them not above half that number. One of them, lest he might be said to return without doing something, he besieged, and took; but found it such a hot piece of service, that he was twice beaten down with stones as he scaled the Rampiers: but having taken it at the last, he found in it great plenty of *Maize* to refresh his Army, and caused the Town (consisting of 200 houses, or thereabouts) to be called *Granada*,³⁰ for some resemblance which it had to that Citie in *Spain*. Such as have since endeavoured the Discovery of these North-west parts, and failed all along the shore hereof on *Mer Vermiglio*, having added hereunto the names of some points, or Promontories; known in the Maps by the name of *Po de St. Clara*, not far from the mouth or influx of *Rhio del Nort*.³¹ 2 *Las Plaias*. 3 *St. Michael*. 4 *Rio de Teron*.³² 5 *Laques del Oro* bordering on *Quivira*; and 6 *Rey Coronado*,³³ on the East of that.

"Betwixt this Region and *Quivira* especially so called, lieth a Country, which the said *Vasques* names *Tucayan*,³⁴ memorable for the famous River of *Huex*; on the Banks whereof for the space of 20 leagues stand 15 Burroughs well built, and furnished with stoves, (if he hath not in this part of the Story outlyed the Frier) as in other cold but more civil Countries, against the extremities of Winter. This Region stretching seven days journey to the River of *Cicui-*

30. Granada was the name given to the Zufi pueblo of *Hawikuh* by Coronado. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 1017.

31. The *Rhio del Nort* (Rio Grande) was thought to rise in the region of New Mexico and flow into the Gulf of California. It was not until late in the seventeenth century that the error was corrected and maps began to show the river emptying into the Gulf of Mexico. See the Sanson map.

32. Should be *Rio de Tizon*, "Fire-brand" river. So named because of the fire-brands carried by the natives.

33. This is the only account that we know of which gives the name of Coronado to a place in this region. This is, perhaps, an error, as most maps use the name *Rez Coromedo*.

34. The region of the Hopi pueblos in northern Arizona, usually spelled *Tusayan*.

que,³⁵ I reckon to belong to the North-east parts of *Cibola*. As I do also the fruitful Valley of *Aroia de Corazones*,³⁶ which they passed in their way hither from *Couliacan*; with the Town and Territory of *Chichilticala*,³⁷ and the Valley of *Nuestra, Sennora* or our *Ladies Dale*, in the South parts of it: not knowing otherwise what Province to refer them to . . .³⁸

7. *NOVA MEXICANA*, is bounded on the South, with *New Biscay*; on the West, with *Quivira*; the Countries on the North, and East, not discovered hitherto; though some extend it Eastwards as far as *Florida*. Extended 250 Leagues from the Town and *Mines* of *S. Barbara*,³⁹ and how much beyond that none can tell; the *Relations* of this Countrey being so uncertain, and indeed incredulous, that I dare say nothing positively on the Soil or People, but much less, of the Towns and Cities which are said to be in it. So named by *Antonio de Espeio*, a Citizen of *Mexico* in *New Spain*, by whom discovered and subdued.

"For first, they tell us of the People, that they are of great stature (and that like enough) but not so probable, that they have the Art of dressing *Chamois* and other *Leather*, as well as the best *Leather-Dresser* in all *Flanders*: or that they have Shooes and Boots so well sewed and soaled, that no *Shoo-Maker* in all *S. Martins* could do it better. Then for their Towns, that they are very fair and goodly, and houses well built of Lime and Stone, some of them four Stories, and in most of them *Stoves* for the Winter Season. The Streets even, and ordered in an excellent Manner. Particularly they tell us of a Town called, 1 *Chia*, one of the five

35. Pecos river in New Mexico.

36. "Valley of Hearts" so named by Cabeza de Vaca. However, this valley is not located in the area described by Heylyn, but is in the state of Sonora, Mexico.

37. "A ruined pueblo visited by Coronado's army on its journey to Cibola (Zuñi) situated on the Gila river, east of the mouth of the San Pedro river, southern Arizona . . ." Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 259.

38. The balance of this chapter contains a description of Nova Albion and California. This section has been omitted as being unnecessary in this article.

39. A town in Nueva Vizcaya, Mexico, located on the head waters of the Rio Conchos. This town was the starting place for several expeditions into New Mexico.

chief Towns of the Province of *Cuames*,⁴⁰ which is said to contain eight Market-places, and all the houses to be plastered and painted in most curious manner.⁴¹ 2 Of *Acoma*, that it is situate on the top of a Rock, a great Town, yet no way unto it but by *Ladders*; and in one place a pair of stairs but exceeding narrow, hewn out of the Rock exceedingly well fortified by Nature (they say true in that, if any things were true which they tell us of it) and all their water kept in Cisterns (but nobody can tell from whence they have it.) 3 Of *Conibas*,⁴² on a Lake so called, the City seven Leagues long, two broad; (a second *Ninive* ⁴³) but the Houses scatteringly built amongst Hills and Gardens, which takes up a great deal of room: Inhabited by a People of such strength and courage, that the *Spaniards* only faced it, and so went away. Much of this stuff I could afford you, but by this taste we may conjecture of the rest of the *Feast*.

"The Countrey first discovered by *Augustino Royaz*,⁴⁴ a *Franciscan* Frier, Anno 1580. who out of Zeal to plant the Gospel in the North, accompanied with two other Friers⁴⁵ of that Order, and eight Souldiers, undertook the *Adventure*. But one of the Monks⁴⁶ being killed by the *Salvages*, the Souldiers playd the Poltrons, and gave over the Action. On

40. The correct name of the province was Punames. "Referring to the western division of the Rio Grande branch of the Keresan stock. Mentioned by Espejo in 1583 as a province comprising 5 towns of which Sia (Chia) was the largest. In Hakluyt's version of Espejo's narrative the name is misprinted *Cunames*, which in turn is corrupted into *Chuames* in Agilby's *America*, 1671 [and in Heylyn's *Cosmography*]. Strangely enough these corrupted forms closely resemble the Keresan term *Cuame*, signifying 'people in the South,' but they bear no relation to that word." Hodge, *F. W., Handbook of American Indians*, II, 327.

41. "After passing these pueblos of the first nation we came to a pueblo of many large houses three and four stories high, plastered on the inside and with many square windows. All the houses were painted in many designs and colors." Hammond and Rey, *The Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition to New Mexico*, 25.

42. "In the year 1611 [a misprint, date should be 1601] the Captain already mentioned, Juan de Oñate, set out from this country towards the east and discovered the Canibaras Lakes (but which they are is not known)." Bloom, L. B., *Antonio Barreiro's Ojeada Sobre Nueva Mexico*, 6.

43. *Nineveh*, capital of the ancient kingdom of Assyria.

44. Father Agustín Rodríguez.

45. The two friars were Fray Francisco López, superior, and Fray Juan de Santa María.

46. Fray Juan de Santa María.

their return, *Beltram*⁴⁷ a Frier of the same Order (from whose mouth we must have the former Fictions) desirous to preserve the lives of his Fellows which staid behinde, encouraged one *Antonio de Espeio*, a Native of *Corduba*, but a Citizen of *Mexico*, to engage in such an *holy Cause*: who raising a band of 150 horse, accompanied with many Slaves, and Beasts of Carriage, undertook the business. I omit the many Nations of the *Conchi*,⁴⁸ *Pasnugates*,⁴⁹, *Tobosi*,⁵⁰ *Patarabyes*,⁵¹ *Tarrahuamares*,⁵² *Tepoanes*,⁵³ and many other as hard names, which he passed thorow on his way. But coming at the last to a great River which he called *Del Nort*, there he made a stand; caused the Countrey on both sides of it to be called *Nova Mexicana*, and a City to be built which he called *New Mexico*, situate in the 37th degree of *Northern Latitude*, and distant from old *Mexico* five hundred Leagues:⁵⁴ the name since changed to that of *S. Foye*,⁵⁵ but still the *Metropolis* of that Province, the Residence of the Governour, and a pretty Garrison consisting of two hundred and fifty *Spaniards*. Some other Towns he found at his coming hither, viz. 2 *Socorro*,⁵⁶ so called by the Spaniards because of what suc-

47. Fray Bernardino Beltrán.

48. Conchas, or Conchos, "a little known tribe formerly living on a river of the same name in Chihuahua, Mexico." Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, I, 335.

49. Spelled *Pazaguantes* by Obregón. "Leaving the Conchos nation the Spaniards entered the lands of the Cabri, called also Pazaguantes by later chroniclers." Hammond and Rey, *The Gallegos Relation of the Rodriguez Expedition to New Mexico*, 5.

50. Properly spelled *Toboso*. A tribe of Indians in northern Mexico.

51. Spelled by Espejo "Patarabueyes." These Indians were Jumanos. Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, 636.

52. A tribal group living in Northern Mexico, in present day Sonora.

53. Tepoanes is now spelled *Tepehuane*, and according to Hodge was "a Pimian tribe formerly inhabiting mainly the state of Durango, Mexico, but extending in Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Jalisco, Zacatecas and Coahuila."

54. An interesting account, but we have no evidence of such a city being founded by Espejo. The 37th degree north is the present northern boundary of New Mexico.

55. Note the spelling of Santa Fe. In other editions of the *Cosmography* the spelling is *S. Fogye*. Heylyn evidently believed that Espejo founded the city but called it "New Mexico." No contemporary source seems to use the same story, leaving one to wonder where Heylyn obtained his information on this important point.

56. Hammond, G. P., *Don Juan de Oñate and the Founding of New Mexico*, 97, "June 14 the men marched three leagues and halted in front of Teipana, or Socorro, as the Spaniards called it, because they found a much needed supply of maize."

cour and relief they found there for their half starved Bodies. 3 *Senecu*,⁵⁷ 4 *Pilabo*,⁵⁸ and 5 *Seviletta*,⁵⁹ old Towns but new *Christened* by the *Spaniards*, when the Inhabitants thereof did embrace the Gospel; each of them beautified with a Church. 6 *St. Johns*,⁶⁰ built afterwards in the year 1599. by *John de Onnate*, who with an Army of five thousand followed the same way which *Espeio* went; and having got a great deal of Treasure, laid it up in this place, that it might be no incumbrance to him in his Advance. This is the most I dare relie on for this Countrey: And this hath no such Wonders in it, but what an easie Faith may give credit to: though I had rather believe the *Friers* whole Relations, than go thither to disprove any part thereof."

57. "A former pueblo of the Piro, 13 miles below Socorro, New Mexico, on the west bank of the Rio Grande at the site of the present village of San Antonio. Site of the Spanish mission of San Antonio de Senecú founded in 1629 by Fray Antonio de Arteaga and Fray Garcia de Zuñiga, and contained the first church and monastery erected on the lower course of the Rio Grande in New Mexico." Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 509. Bandelier, A., *Archaeological Institute Papers*, IV, (1892), 250, says, "on the 23rd of Jan. 1675, the Apaches surprised the pueblo of Senecú, killed its missionary Fray Alonso Gil de Avila, and slaughtered so many of the inhabitants of all ages and both sexes that the survivors fled in dismay to Socorro, and the pueblo remained forever deserted."

58. Pilabo is the aboriginal name for the pueblo of Socorro. Mentioned in Benavides, A., *Memorial*, 16, 1630. Hodge, F. W., *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 612.

59. A former pueblo of the Piro on the east bank of the Rio Grande, about twenty miles above Socorro; visited by Oñate in 1598 and named by him Nueva Sevilla.

60. Heylyn has anglicized some of the Spanish names and used others in the original Spanish. Saint John is therefore *San Juan de los Caballeros*, founded by Oñate in 1599.

CHURCH AND STATE IN NEW MEXICO 1610-1650

By FRANCE V. SCHOLES

(Continued)

CHAPTER III

GOVERNOR JUAN DE EULATE VS. FRIAR ESTÉBAN DE PEREA 1618-1626

I

DURING the period from 1617 to 1626 there was a definite advance in the general mission program. A long and bitter quarrel between Governor Eulate and the Franciscans caused considerable embarrassment, but this unfavorable factor was offset by the steady and generous financial support which the missions received from the treasury of New Spain. Supplies of clothing, medicines, building materials, vestments, and altar coverings were received at fairly regular intervals, and each supply caravan also brought a new group of friars.¹ These reinforcements of men and supplies guaranteed the permanence of the progress already achieved, and made possible the founding of new missions in outlying areas.

The effective mission area was extended to include the pueblo of Pecos on the east, Taos on the north, and the Jemez settlements in the northwest. Pecos was the easternmost of all the pueblos, and its position near the edge of the buffalo plains made it an important base for trading operations with the nomadic Apaches. Taos was an isolated outpost, and the Indians of this pueblo were notoriously warlike. The Jemez Indians lived in several villages on the frontier between the main Pueblo area and the Navaho country. To effect their conversion and indoctrination Fray Jerónimo de Zárate Salmerón settled them in a large pueblo in which he established the convent of San José. About 1623 the Jemez rose in

revolt, and although a punitive expedition was sent against them, they were not subdued. During the succeeding three years famine and Navaho raids reduced them to a miserable state. Mission activities in the Jemez area were not resumed until the period of Benavides' prelacy (1625-1629).

II

The term of office of Governor Bernardino de Ceballos came to an end on December 21, 1618. His successor, Juan de Eulate, was a military official who had served in Flanders and in the New Spain *flota*.² He was a petulant, tactless, irreverent soldier whose actions were inspired by open contempt for the Church and its ministers and by an exaggerated conception of his own authority as the representative of the Crown. Like most of the governors of New Mexico in the seventeenth century, he regarded his appointment as an opportunity for personal profit. It is not surprising, therefore, that his seven-year term of office (1618-1625) served to sharpen and perpetuate the old antagonisms between Church and State.

It is not possible to describe the beginnings of the controversy between Eulate and Perea in chronological sequence. Between 1618 and 1621 there was a slow accumulation of grievances which embittered the relations of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The points at issue are clear, however, and in the main they were related to the familiar questions of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and privilege and the many-sided problem of Indian relations. Unfortunately the documentary sources consist mostly of denunciations of Eulate's conduct by the clergy and by persons devoted to their cause. Eulate's reports and dispatches have not been found. Consequently the story as told here is mostly a one-sided review of the charges made by the clergy to substantiate their general accusation that Eulate was an avowed enemy of the Church and all its works.

Eulate's lack of respect for the Church was said to have been manifest at all times. On certain matters of doctrine

his views were regarded as definitely unorthodox, especially his statement that the married state was better, or more perfect, than the celibate.⁸ His attitude toward the ceremonial of the Church was entirely unsatisfactory, for he not only failed to show the proper regard for it himself, but he even ridiculed others who participated actively in religious services.⁴ With regard to the moot questions of ecclesiastical privilege and the powers and spheres of action of the two jurisdictions, civil and ecclesiastical, the governor made boastful assertions that were not only exceedingly tactless, but, in some instances, actually contrary to law. He declared that the king was his chieftain,⁵ from which it was inferred that he regarded the State to be superior to the Church; that if the king ordered him to do so he would arrest and judge clergy, even gibbet them;⁶ and in case of a choice between obeying the pope and obeying the king, he would obey the king.⁷ He denied that the custodian could have any jurisdiction over the laymen of the province, asserting that he—the governor—alone had authority over them.⁸ He expressed contempt also for the censures of the Church, especially excommunications; and he was said to have boasted on one occasion that he would send the custodian to Mexico a prisoner if the latter excommunicated him.⁹ Finally, it was asserted that he abused and insulted the friars in the presence of Spaniards and Indians alike, even indicating a desire (never actually executed, it seems) to beat and maltreat them.¹⁰

In view of these charges concerning the general attitude of Eulate toward the Church, it is not surprising that the clergy found him unsympathetic and even hostile to the general mission program. He denied military escort for friars who wished to convert and indoctrinate frontier pueblos, and even prevented those soldiers from going who voluntarily offered their services. The friars regarded this action as completely unjustified, because the Indians of the pueblos which they wished to convert were already vassals of the Crown and were being called upon to pay tribute to those

soldier-encomenderos whom the clergy requested as escorts.¹¹ In like manner Eulate hindered the building and repairing of churches and convents by maltreating and insulting Spaniards who loaned their ox-teams for the work, even ordering some of them to desist, and by discouraging the Indians in their part of the work.¹² The friars stated also that he deprived them of the services of the Indians in both the ordinary and the special needs of the missions, and they noted especially the actions of Capt. Pedro Durán y Chaves, who, by order of Eulate, informed the Indians of the Tewa towns that they need not obey or serve the friars in any respect, except that they should go to mass when the friars called them.¹³ But most important of all was the fact that Eulate refused to support the Church in its campaign against the old order, declining to coöperate with the friars in their opposition to idols, Indian ceremonial dances, and concubinage. When the friars insisted that the Crown had issued decrees against the use of idols and pagan ceremonial, Eulate refused to believe it, and insisted that the Crown had definitely decreed that newly converted Indians should not be obliged to give up their idols and concubines until after the lapse of a period of years. Eulate's associates and agents, especially one Juan Gómez, interpreter for the Tiwa pueblos and encomendero of San Lázaro, spread this point of view among the Indians; and Gómez even went to the extent of assuring the Indians of San Lázaro that when he returned from a trip to Mexico he would bring back a definite order permitting them to follow their old ways.¹⁴ The friars also charged that Eulate, not being content with generalities, actively interfered in the administration of the missions in order to protect and favor Indian priests and sorcerers (*hechiceros*).¹⁵

But Eulate's defense of the Indians and his liberal policy concerning the old native customs were not inspired by any high idealism regarding aboriginal rights; on the contrary, they were merely a means of attracting the natives to the side of civil authority in order that they might the more

easily be exploited.¹⁶ Eulate and his associates insisted that the Indians could be forced to serve them without pay,¹⁷ and in a report to the viceroy the custodian stated that the Indians were rounded up in groups of forty, or even a hundred, to labor on the farms of the Spanish colonists without compensation.¹⁸ The Spaniards also used the Indians as burden bearers for the transport of the tributes, wood, and other cargo, despite the fact that this practice was not only contrary to the general policy of the Crown with regard to Indian labor, but actually unnecessary because the Spaniards had horses that could have been used instead.¹⁹ Slave raids were organized for the capture of unconverted but peaceful nomads who lived near the pueblos, and the captives were used as day laborers or sent to be sold as slaves in New Spain.²⁰ Moreover Eulate gave the soldiers *vales* (permits) authorizing them to seize orphans in the converted pueblos and use them as house servants.²¹ Finally, the clergy complained that the estancias of some of the Spaniards were located so close to the pueblos that they encroached on the fields and grazing lands of the Indians.²²

Eulate's personal interest in exploiting the Indians is indicated by the fact that he had an estancia of his own for breeding livestock. He also shipped quantities of goods to New Spain from time to time, and on occasion tried to engage in the sale of Indian slaves.²³ These facts give especial importance to the clergy's complaint that he interfered in details of mission administration, especially to influence the election of the Indian officials who governed the pueblos.²⁴

Such are the essential charges that were made concerning Eulate's personal conduct. To them may be added reports that by word and deed he fostered a similarly hostile attitude among some of the leaders of the local Hispanic community. Several of them shared his views concerning the relative merits of the married state and the celibate, and two or three were outspoken concerning the supremacy of civil authority. Two of them (Juan Gómez and Pedro Durán y Chaves) were also singled out for special criticism

because of their efforts to destroy mission discipline. The fact that some of these men were encomenderos gives especial interest to their alliance with Eulate.²⁵

Thus the years from 1618 to 1621 saw the development of an almost irreconcilable controversy between the civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Almost every general issue that could possibly cause irritation was presented in some form: the issue of ecclesiastical privilege and immunity; the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the validity of ecclesiastical censures; the relative power of Church and State; questions of orthodoxy; the problem of the Indian labor; control and direction of the missions and of the religious and social life of the natives; the exploitation of the Indians; the enslavement of unconverted tribes. Complaints were dispatched by the friars to the authorities of New Spain, and in 1620 Custodian Perea sent a trusted agent to the provincial of his Order to request permission to renounce his office and go to Mexico so that he could present in person the case for the friars.²⁶

Meantime, Perea adopted a bold policy in New Mexico. On August 18, 1621, he published an official statement denouncing the "evil-sounding, erroneous, suspected, scandalous, and heretical words" that were being spoken "in great offense to God Our Lord and in depreciation of His Church and His Ministers, and contrary to the humble and filial obedience owed to the Holy Roman Church." A long list of errors and evil practices, such as have been outlined above, were enumerated, and the decree ended with an appeal to the people to denounce any person known to be guilty of such offenses against the Church.²⁷ This was a direct challenge to the governor, and it was reported that he swore that if he knew the persons who had informed on him he would give them two hundred lashes.²⁸ Undaunted, Perea went ahead, gathering evidence, and during the next few weeks several friars made declarations which supported the general charges.²⁹ But before the investigation had been carried very far Perea was relieved of his office, for in October a new

custodian arrived to succeed him as prelate of the local Church. Perea was reduced once more to the rank of mission friar. The new custodian, Friar Miguel de Chavarría, dropped the investigation and undertook to foster better relations with the civil authorities.

II

Although this change of policy was due in part to the personal influence of the new custodian, the chief cause was probably the receipt of definite orders from Mexico City. These were the result of a series of complaints filed with the viceroy by both the civil and ecclesiastical leaders of the province. None of these complaints have been found, but it is easy to infer their nature. The grievances of the Church were probably essentially the same as those which have been described above. The representations made by the civil authorities may be inferred from the contents of the orders themselves.

The complaints were formally considered by the viceroyal authorities on July 29, 1620, but it was six months before definite action was taken. On January 9 and February 5, 1621, decrees were dispatched to Custodian Perea and to Governor Eulate respectively in which detailed instructions for the future conduct of affairs in New Mexico were stated. These instructions were so important, both in relation to the situation as it existed in 1621 and as statements of policy on fundamental provincial problems, that they deserve detailed notice. The order to Perea was issued in the form of a *real provisión*, i.e., in the form of a royal cédula, but actually issued by the viceroy, in order to give it greater authority.⁸⁰

Each set of instructions contained sections dealing with the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and they indicate that the representations of the civil authorities of New Mexico on this vexed question had made a marked impression on the viceroy and audiencia. The following quotation is taken from the instructions addressed to Custodian Perea:

... know ye, that in the Council which the Marqués de Guadalcázar, my cousin, viceroy, ... held on the twenty-ninth of July of this year with the three seniors *oidores* of my said Audiencia ... there were seen certain letters, missives, memorials, depositions, and other documents which have been written and dispatched from those said provinces to my said Viceroy by various persons, ecclesiastic as well as lay, through which (documents) account has been given of the strifes over jurisdiction and other (matters) which there have been, and are, between you, the said Custodio, and my said Governor; you, the said Father, claiming that by virtue of the bulls of His Holiness Leo X and of Adrian VI, you have in those said provinces authority and jurisdiction supremest as well as ordinary *ad universitatem causarum* so that you can take cognizance of any ecclesiastical matters whatever, and can issue any censure and interdict against any persons whatever state, condition, or pre-eminence they may be, imposing upon them the punishments at your command, and (you claiming further) that my said Governor should not and could not decree or determine any matter touching his said government without (first) consulting with you and following the advice of you and of the Religious of your Custodia ... and moreover ... there have been reported the serious difficulties which have followed and resulted from (the fact)) that the Prelates, your predecessors, made use of the said jurisdiction against Don Pedro de Peralta and against the Admiral Bernardino de Zeballos, who have been my governors in those provinces, with greater scandal and less prudence than would have been just, exceeding and going contrary to what has been determined by the holy canons, bulls of His Holiness, and my cédulas, in excommunicating them, and, in order for them to have absolution, imposing upon them public penances without due authority and humiliating to my said governors ...

And in order that from now henceforth procedure may be in accord with what is right and that such scandals may be avoided ... wherefore I ask you and I enjoin you that, you, the said Father Custodio holding ordinary jurisdiction in those said

provinces, you employ it and exercise it in conformity with what is right in the matters spiritual and ecclesiastical which may pertain to your Jurisdiction and in these (matters) you alone shall proceed without the other Religious of your Custodia intruding themselves further than in the administering of the Holy Sacraments . . . and if the layman or laymen against whom you shall make the process shall feel themselves aggrieved by the definite sentence or interlocutory *autos*, lest they might have final force or be an incumbrance which it might not be possible to correct, and should take an appeal to the Metropolitan judge, the Archbishop of Mexico, . . . you shall not proceed to execute your decisions until my said Audiencia which resides in the City of Mexico may decide whether you shall give them effect or not, for which purpose you shall send to my Audiencia the original processes which you may have fulminated with all the *autos* without the lack of anything, in the meanwhile absolving those whom, by the said process, you may have excommunicated and raising and removing whatever interdicts and censures you may have imposed;³² and in the executive and ecclesiastical causes, cognizance of which may pertain to your ecclesiastical jurisdiction, you shall proceed according to law, taking care as to the form and extent of the judgment and what is provided by my Royal laws . . . against lay persons you shall not proceed in any manner except it be in ecclesiastical matters according to law and in these you shall not proceed to imprisonment without first requesting the aid of the secular arm from my said Governor or from his Lieutenant, who shall give and afford you such aid, you showing him by what you have written that you will proceed legally.^{32a}

Similar statements were made in the instructions addressed to the governor who was ordered to grant the aid of the secular arm when, for good cause, the custodian should request it in proper form. Both the clergy and the civil authorities were instructed to refrain from intervening in affairs not within their respective jurisdictions. In problems relating to "the common good of the baptized

Indians and the universal conservation of the Republic," the governor was ordered to seek the advice of the custodian and other experienced friars, and of the cabildo of Santa Fé; but having been so advised, he alone had power of decision. Above all, the friars were charged not to interfere in secular matters.

The letter and spirit of these decrees can be regarded only as a severe reproof to the clergy for their past actions, and they indicate clearly that the viceroy intended to support secular authority in its relations with the Church. The civil authorities in New Mexico came to regard these orders as a sort of Magna Carta of secular rights.

The two decrees also contained statements of policy concerning many aspects of pueblo and mission administration:

1. It was ordered that on the days of the annual pueblo elections, when the local officials, such as governor, fiscal, etc., were named, no representatives of the State or the Church should be present in the pueblos in order to ensure to the Indians complete freedom of action. The clergy had complained that the governor tried to impose his will in such elections in order to further his own selfish ends. The civil authorities, on the other hand, had asserted that the custodian and other friars had given the Indians to understand that their authority was superior to that of the governor.

2. Governor and custodian were instructed that on feast days and Sundays friars should go to the several pueblos where there were churches, so that the Indians would be spared the trouble of going to distant pueblos to hear mass.

3. In those pueblos already subject to tribute or *encomienda*, the friars were not to impede the collection of such tribute. In pueblos converted in the future, no tributes were to be levied until governor, custodian, and the guardian of the convent had made reports to the viceroy who would decide what was best. Moreover no tributes were to be collected in the Zuñi and Hopi pueblos, as they were still unconverted.

4. The governor was instructed to see to it that the encomenderos provided military escort for the mission supply trains coming from Mexico City and also for friars going to administer the sacraments in frontier pueblos.

5. The governor was forbidden to graze herds of live stock for his own account.

6. In order to avoid damage to the growing crops of the several pueblos, the Spaniards were instructed not to pasture their stock within three leagues of the pueblos, except under certain circumstances.

7. Both the governor and the custodian were ordered not to permit the uses of Indian labor in illegal ways, or in such amount that the Indians would suffer hardship. All levies or repartimientos of Indian laborers were to be limited only to the work of sowing and planting, the number to be called from each pueblo strictly limited, and the wages duly paid. The allotment of Indian women as servants in the houses of Spaniards was forbidden, unless "they go with their husbands (and) voluntarily." The custodian was instructed that Indian labor at the missions should be used only "for things necessary for the church and the convenience of the living quarters," and then only "with the greatest moderation."

8. The practice of cutting the hair of Indians guilty of minor offenses was forbidden. This order was the result of a complaint that the friars had used this form of punishment "for errors and light faults." For the Indians this was a great affront, and as a result some of them had gone to live in the unconverted pueblo of Acoma, "returning to idolatry."

The instructions of 1621 recognized the two fundamental causes of controversy between Church and State, viz., the problem of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority, and the question of Indian relations. The rights and privileges of the Church as a corporate body with its own set of laws and courts were to be preserved; but in the last analysis the authority of the State was to predominate. The provisions concerning Indian affairs were based upon the general

colonial statutes that had been evolved in an attempt to protect the natives from exploitation. A broad spirit of moderation is seen in both decrees, but their successful execution could be achieved only by the restoration of a similar spirit in local provincial affairs.

IV

The orders to Perea and Eulate were probably dispatched to New Mexico with the same caravan which brought the new custodian. The retirement of Perea from the custodianship in the autumn of 1621 and the receipt of these instructions had a quieting effect, temporarily at least, on the relations of Church and State. Governor Eulate was obliged to change his policy in certain respects, and even the friars admitted it. He granted escort to friars desiring to visit unconverted pueblos, and he coöperated in the building of churches, even lending his own ox teams for the work.³³ On the other hand, the new custodian, Friar Miguel de Chavarría, adopted a conciliatory attitude, either because of the appeal for moderation contained in the instructions, or, as Perea insisted, because he was an intimate friend of the governor and was willing to go to any lengths in order to create amicable relations between the two jurisdictions. Thus, for a year, at least, the leaders of Church and State were once more on good terms.

Although Perea must have felt keenly the sting of the rebuke contained in the instructions, he was too much of a fighter to give up the struggle. In fact, he regarded it as only well begun. Relieved of the custodianship he could now satisfy his desire to go to Mexico to present in person, both to his superior prelates and to the Holy Office, his own version of the situation, and he had no doubt that he could win complete vindication. Soon after his arrival in New Mexico in October, 1621, Chavarría stated that he brought license from the provincial authorizing Perea to leave, and Perea eagerly made his plans in order to make the journey with the supply caravan on its return trip. But the date of the

departure of the caravan was postponed month after month. Meanwhile a coolness, which rapidly turned into open bitterness, developed between Perea and Chavarría. This was due, in part, to the friendly relations between Eulate and the new prelate which Perea declared were purchased by a complete acquiescence by Chavarría in all that Eulate wished. Moreover, as the weeks and months passed by, Chavarría delayed giving Perea the formal authorization to depart, and Perea was soon convinced that Eulate and the prelate were conspiring to defeat his plans.

During the winter of 1621-1622 relations became tense, and, finally, in the summer of 1622, with the date of the departure of the caravan approaching, Perea became more and more insistent. On August 23 he addressed Chavarría in a formal petition and asked for the necessary license.³⁴ Chavarría made no reply. Realizing at last that he was being thwarted, Perea wrote a second petition which was presented to Chavarría on August 26, in which all his anger and disappointment overflowed in a torrent of bitter denunciation.³⁵

I, Friar Estéban de Perea, Father of this Custodia . . . appear before Your Reverence and state that when I was prelate of this Custodia I . . . wrote to our Fathers and Prelates (of New Spain) renouncing my office and asking them very earnestly to do me the favor of sending me license to appear in their presence in order to communicate to them certain matters affecting my conscience and other (matters) of very grave importance for the welfare and conservation of this Church, and their paternities conceded (this request) and gave ample and plenary license to you to be transmitted to me, ordering expressly in it that no inferior of theirs should thwart me . . . Nevertheless, in contravention of all justice you impede me and detain me, doing me grave injury. Seeing myself oppressed without cause or reason whatsoever . . . I presented to Your Reverence a petition . . . to which Your Reverence has not wished to respond, because you do not want it

known in New Spain that you have violated the said license or that you have proceeded against me with feeling and passion . . . ever since you set foot in this land, as everyone, even the Indians, know . . . You said when you arrived that you brought the license and would give me permission to make the journey, and even give me a companion, but you have not given me the license, rather you have burdened me down with acts of disfavor and have debased, persecuted, and oppressed me ever since I entered this convent,⁸⁶ even desiring that the very stones of this place would rise up against me . . . all in order to please the Governor who is a very tender friend of Your Reverence . . . because it is imagined that if I go to Mexico I shall do him some harm.

Chavarría's hatred had been made manifest in many ways,

even depriving me of the association of friars, ordering them not to see me or visit me . . . as if I were under punishment of the Holy Office.

Likewise, Chavarría had threatened to

take from me this convent and *doctrina* of the Tiwas whom I have gathered together with so many labors, and to drive me out from here and to institute causes and more causes, and legal proceedings with which to disgrace me so that I shall not be able to speak in New Spain and so that no one will believe me . . .

The veil is torn away and the hatred and hard feeling you have for me is revealed . . . I protest to God and to all our Fathers and Prelates that you do me violence and outrage . . . neither my honor nor my life is secure, with the two heads (of State and Church) so clearly showing themselves to be my enemies and with help so far away.

Chavarría refused either to grant or to refuse the request, and Perea abandoned his plan to depart.⁸⁷ But he had one more move left. On September 18 he wrote an appeal to the Holy Office in which he described the situation in New Mexico and begged that he be summoned to Mexico City on business of the faith. For five years, he said, he had done all in his power to combat error and heresy, the

principal aim of which was the destruction of ecclesiastical authority, but his efforts had been unavailing, as tyranny, rather than justice, ruled. Being a prelate had meant nothing, for whenever he had tried to defend ecclesiastical authority he had always suffered a thousand persecutions. It had been impossible, moreover, to take testimony from laymen concerning this situation, as they all feared that the governor would find them out and maltreat them. Several of them, however, had said, "Let him finish his term of office and then we will tell what we know." Perea stated also that he had written a book describing these errors and heresies, entitled *Defense of His Catholic Majesty Against the Abuses of His Ministers*. This he had hoped to send to the Holy Office, but did not dare to do so. The custodian and governor had conspired to prevent his departure for Mexico, and he begged the Holy Office to issue him a formal summons.⁸⁸

The bitterness of Perea's denunciation could have been caused only by intense disappointment and by some definite show of hostility on the part of Chavarría. It may be doubted, however, whether Chavarría had so completely abandoned the cause of the Church as was implied by Perea's statements. Before the departure of the caravan three friars wrote a petition to the Holy Office, asking that it appoint an agent or representative with full authority formally and legally to investigate the errors and heresies current in New Mexico, and two of them suggested Chavarría as a suitable person for the post. He was recommended as a prelate who had governed "with much peace as a religious person and as a true zealot in the Christian religion."⁸⁹ Perhaps Chavarría's aloofness toward Perea may have been caused, in part, by a genuine desire to dissociate himself from the old quarrel. Certainly the severity of the viceroy's reproof could not easily be disregarded, and Chavarría, realizing that Perea had been personally responsible for some of the actions that had inspired it, may have sought deliberately to lessen Perea's influence, so long paramount, by isolating him in his convent at Sandía. But Chavarría's actions were not

wholly without blame. It is clear that Perea did not dare to leave and that he believed it necessary to seek a formal summons from the Inquisition, which no one would defy. Perea must have felt that his denunciations were fully justified when he saw Chavarría depart for Mexico in October, 1622, when the caravan finally set out on its return journey. It was stated by one of his friar associates that Chavarría went on business of the custodia.⁴⁰ But what business? There is no answer to that question.

V

Before Chavarría departed he appointed an old friend and associate, Friar Ascencio de Zárate, to act as vice-custodian, and for more than three years (October, 1622, to December, 1625) Zárate remained in charge. Concerning this period there is not much information. Perea probably remained at Sandía as mission friar. Eulate soon resumed his older policy of hostility to the Church, and Father Zárate, even had he wished to do so, found it impossible to continue Chavarría's policy of conciliation.

Eulate's attitude in Indian affairs was as unsatisfactory as ever. He continued to authorize seizure of Indian orphans as servants.⁴¹ The Indians of Jemez got out of hand and destroyed their church and convent, the result, so it is said, of Eulate's permission to some of the native sorcerors to live in the old way. The governor led a military expedition to Jemez to punish the rebels, but the mission was not re-established until several years later.⁴² The governor continued also to indulge in dangerous speech concerning matters of doctrine and to show a marked lack of regard for the practice and ceremonial of the faith.⁴³ And there was public rumor, finally, concerning the depravity of his private relations. In short, he came to be regarded as thoroughly evil, an enemy of the Church, and suspect in the faith. On one occasion during the period from 1622 to 1625 Father Zárate declared him excommunicate—the cause is unknown

—and the bitterness resulting therefrom was not lessened by the wrangling over terms of absolution.⁴⁴

On August 14, 1623, Father Perea wrote another letter of appeal to the Holy Office. He repeated the charge that Governor Eulate had asserted supremacy in matters both spiritual and temporal, and had so oppressed the Church that it was impossible to resist him. The governor had kept such close watch over the dispatches sent to New Spain that it was difficult to send reports concerning the situation. "Last year it was necessary to send one *pliego* (of letters) inside a roll of wax, and the other sewed in the wool of a buffalo hide." One of Eulate's agents sent to search for dispatches in the effects of the persons who carried them had been upbraided because he had failed to find them; and Capt. Francisco Gómez, who was appointed commander of the 1622 caravan, had been unwilling to take a *pliego* of letters given him by Friar Agustín de Burgos. Thus the clergy were oppressed "like slaves" by the lay authorities. The vice-custodian, Friar Asencio de Zárate, had called a meeting of the clergy to determine what should be done, and it had been decided "to flee from this anti-christ, and abandon this Church." Perea had offered strenuous opposition to this decision, on the ground that it would mean "the perdition of so many Christian souls and would impede, in future, the conversion of the numberless people who live in the interior of this land." As a result of his arguments the plan to effect a general abandonment of the missions was given up. But apparently the vice-custodian decided to send "eight or more" friars to New Spain, of whom Perea finally persuaded two to remain. As a result of his opposition to these plans, Perea had earned the ill will of many of the friars. "But I do not care," he said, "because it is in the service of God." He appealed once more to be summoned to the Holy Office, "because with license from that Holy Tribunal, they will not put an obstacle (in my way) or touch the papers that I take (with me)."⁴⁵

VI

The letters of Perea and his associates convinced the Holy Office that an agent, or commissary, should be appointed for New Mexico, with full authority to investigate all cases of heresy, error, and other ecclesiastical offenses over which the Inquisition had jurisdiction. For this post was chosen Friar Alonso de Benavides, a Franciscan who had had considerable experience as an official of the Inquisition. This appointment was probably by agreement with the Franciscan Order, for when Father Chavarría's three-year term as custodian expired in 1623, Benavides was elected to succeed him.⁴⁶ Thus the powers of prelate and ecclesiastical judge ordinary were combined with those of commissary of the Holy Office, and no doubt it was expected that this union of authority would enable the Church effectively to combat the numerous errors and heresies said to be current in New Mexico and to defend the missions against the hostility of the civil authorities.

Although elected custodian on October 19, 1623, Benavides did not set out for New Mexico until early in 1625. This delay was probably due to the fact that twelve new friars⁴⁷ were being dispatched to the New Mexican missions and preparations for the long journey northward took much time. Benavides was obliged also to tarry along the way, as he had been authorized to exercise inquisitorial jurisdiction at Cuencamé and Santa Bárbara in Nueva Vizcaya, as well as in New Mexico. It was not until late in December, 1625, that he and his party arrived at their final destination.

In the same party with Benavides came Eulate's successor, Felipe de Sotelo Osorio. After reaching New Mexico the new governor went on ahead of Benavides to Santa Fé where he was duly received and installed in office. His first important duty was to prepare for the reception to be accorded Father Benavides. The reception of a new custodian was always a formal affair, but Benavides' dual position gave his case a special significance. The dates set for the reception were January 24 and 25, 1626. On January 24 Bena-

vides arrived in Santa Fé where the governor and cabildo, in full military regalia, received him with proper courtesy and escorted him to the convent, while the soldiers fired a salute with arquebuses and artillery. On the following day a formal procession of the governor, cabildo, and citizens accompanied Benavides to the church where the edict of the faith was read by Friar Pedro de Ortega, whom Benavides had appointed notary of the Holy Office.⁴⁸

It was fitting that the first person to testify before Father Benavides should be Friar Estéban de Perea. In a long declaration made on January 26, Perea reviewed the entire situation.⁴⁹ At the same time he presented the statement denouncing the errors current in New Mexico which he had published on August 18, 1621, and the testimony received at that time. Between January and September Benavides examined more than thirty persons, most of whom confirmed and re-stated the old charges against the governor.

But Eulate, who must have known that Benavides was preparing a case against him for presentation to the Holy Office, played the game through to the end. On the eve of his departure for New Spain, he reaffirmed his old boast that the king was his leader and chieftain and that he would do whatever the king ordered, even if it meant playing the role of another Duke of Bourbon!⁵⁰

The mission supply caravan returned to New Spain in the autumn of 1626. Eulate and Perea were members of the party. After more than sixteen years of continuous service in the missions, Perea was at liberty, finally, to return to Mexico City and present a full report to the superior prelates of the Franciscan Order and to the Holy Office.

There is no available evidence that Eulate was ever tried by the Holy Office. The reports from New Mexico were received on January 27, 1627,⁵¹ but in so far as known documentary evidence is concerned, the case ends at that point. It is possible that part of the records are lost. But if Eulate was not tried, what was the reason? Did the Holy

Office feel that, in view of the Peralta affair, it would not be politic to submit another representative of civil authority in New Mexico to public disgrace so soon? Did the viceroy interpose his influence? Did the Holy Office feel that the evidence was too circumstantial and patently one-sided? There is no answer to these questions.

But Eulate's arbitrary disregard of colonial law and justice did not wholly escape punishment. In May, 1627, Eulate was arrested by the civil authorities of Mexico for having brought a number of Indians from New Mexico to be sold as slaves in New Spain, and for having used several of the wagons in the supply caravan to bring cargo from New Mexico free of freight. For these offenses he was fined and ordered to pay the cost of sending the Indian slaves back to New Mexico.⁵³ There the story of Eulate ends, so far as New Mexico is concerned.

The reports which Father Perea made to the prelates of his Order and to the Holy Office were apparently well received. At the next election of a custodian of the New Mexico missions, he was reëlected to take the place of Father Benavides.⁵⁴ Moreover, the Holy Office took steps to appoint him its agent, or commissary, for New Mexico. But inasmuch as Perea was a native of Spain, it was necessary to ask the Suprema to furnish a report on his genealogy and *limpieza de sangre*. This information was not received promptly, and consequently his appointment under the Holy Office was delayed until 1630.⁵⁵ In September, 1628, Perea returned to New Mexico with thirty new friar-recruits for the missions, and in April, 1629, he once more took over the administration of the ecclesiastical affairs of the province. He would have been less—or more—than human if, on that occasion, he did not feel a certain flush of victory.

VII

The fundamental issues at stake in the conflict of interest between the two jurisdictions were now perfectly clear. The steady success of the missions gave the clergy an in-

creasing influence in provincial affairs, as well as a definite self-assurance because of their belief in the sanctity of their work. It is not surprising, therefore, that they were increasingly critical of the actions and policies of the civil authorities. In their defense of the Indians and the missions, in their denunciation of flagrant errors of doctrine, and in their sturdy justification of ecclesiastical jurisdiction they were acting within their legal and moral rights. But they had become over-sensitive of their privileges and immunities, and their zeal sometimes caused them to exaggerate the importance of things that were really trifling.

The permanence of the missions depended upon the growth of a sizeable non-aboriginal colony, but that colony could not be maintained without contacts with the Indians whose souls were being saved. Land and labor were necessary for the development and permanence of the colony, and it was inevitable that the soldiers and other colonists should yield to the temptation to exploit the natives and to encroach upon the communal farm and grazing lands of the pueblos. The soldiers found it difficult, moreover, to understand the bitter denunciation of their conduct by the clergy. At each mission Indian labor was used for building churches and convents, for the service and maintenance of the same, and for tending large herds of livestock which shared the very ranges from which the cattle and sheep of the soldiers were excluded. It was not enough to argue that such service was necessary for the maintenance of the clergy and the program of evangelization, because the soldiers were convinced, sometimes justly, that the friars employed the Indians in tasks that were but remotely related to the spiritual phases of the missions. It is not surprising, therefore, if resentment sometimes took the form of hasty expressions of opinion concerning the Church and even of opposition to some of the practical aspects of mission administration.

The application of the principles of harmony and compromise expressed in the instructions to Eulate and Perea—they were typical of hundreds of others drawn up in all

parts of the Indies—depended in no small measure on the character and aims of the governor and prelate. A governor of the Eulate type was certain to arouse bitterness and opposition, and the eager desire of Eulate to use his office for personal profit and his boastful disregard of the ordinary proprieties cannot be condoned. Yet in fairness to Eulate and his ilk it should be observed that the governors occupied a difficult position as arbiter between vested interests that were fundamentally irreconcilable. If the governors usually took the side of secular interests, it was not only because their own selfish aims were best promoted in that way. Wholehearted acceptance of the ecclesiastical point of view would not only have meant a definite subordination of civil authority—and even the most enlightened governor would not tolerate that—but it would also have aroused the opposition of a powerful faction within the Hispanic colony, the government of which was the special function of the provincial executive. On the other hand, the prelates, because of their genuine devotion to the missions and their belief in the supreme importance of the salvation of souls, found it difficult to understand either the point of view of the soldier-encomendero class or the practical expediency of adapting provincial policy to the needs and aspirations of that class. And when men like Eulate flagrantly challenged ecclesiastical privilege and openly opposed fundamental principles of mission policy, the reaction of the clergy was bound to be immediate and even violent.

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. Supply caravans were sent out in 1616-1617, 1621, and 1625. Seven new friars were provided in 1616-1617, six in 1621, and twelve more in 1625. For lists of supplies purchased, prices, etc., see A. G. I., Contaduría 723, 726, and 845 B.

2. Libranza, Feb. 6, 1618. A. G. I., Contaduría 720.

3. Eulate's remarks concerning ecclesiastical celibacy illustrate his unfortunate habit of making stinging remarks that unnecessarily offended the clergy and persons devoted to the Church, for when reproved by one of the friars for his statement that the married state was better than the celibate, he flippantly remarked that all that the clergy did was to eat and sleep, whereas married men worked for their living. Declara-

tion of Friar Pedro de Ortega, Jan. 27, 1626. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 356, f. 265v. There was also considerable discussion concerning two stories which Eulate frequently related. The first had to do with an incident which he had heard about in Spain, in which a nuncio was supposed to have empowered a cathedral chapter to confer major orders when the bishop of the diocese had refused to do so. The second case concerned a theological student who had defended the proposition that the Trinity was not three persons but four. How serious Eulate may have been in relating these incidents no one can tell, but in numerous declarations, friar and lay, they were told and retold as proof of his unorthodoxy. *Ibid.*, ff. 257-317, *passim*.

4. It was reported that nothing irked Eulate more than masses and sermons. Instead of remaining in Santa Fé to celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi, or to participate in the services of Holy Week, he usually went hunting, or spent the time with friends at his estancia. He took special pains also to single out for ridicule men who sang in the choir, calling them "vile" and "base." *Ibid.*

5. "El Rey es mi gallo." This seems to have been a favorite expression not only of the governor but also of some of the soldiers. "Dice mas este declarante q. es Verdad q. a oydo decir a algunas Personas, y aun le parece a este declarante al mismo g^{or} q. El Rey es su gallo Y esto contra la autoridad del papa y de la Yglesia, quando se trata de la auctoridad Ecclesiastica." Declaration of Friar Pedro de Haro de la Cueva, Aug. 22, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 286v. "Dice mas este declarante q. algunas veces a oydo decir q. algunas soldados en la Villa de s^{ta} fe quando se trata de la yglesia y su autoridad dicen que el Rey es mi gallo, como q. la iglesia no les puede mandar cosa alguna." Declaration of Friar Pedro de Ortega, Sept. 2, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 288v.

6. "... ser publica bos y fama que el dicho D. Ju^o de Eulate es enemigo de las cosas de la yglecia y siempre a perseguido los debotos de ella . . . y dijo que si el Rei lo mandara prender al arcobispo de toledo, con un boto a dios y alsaido el baston, que le prendiera porque en todas ocaciones se a de haser lo que el Rei Manda." Declaration of Friar Estéban de Perea, Jan. 26, 1626. *Ibid.*, f. 264. "Dice mas este declarante, que a visto el dho g^{or} don Ju^o de Eulate auer hablado con los Religiosos altiuamente con menosprecio y diciendo que si el Rey le mandase justiciar Religiosos que lo haria. Y esto fue preguntandole est declarante de manera q. si el Rey le mandase ahorcar Religiosos lo haria dijo si." Declaration of Friar Cristóbal de Quiros. Sept. 3, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 20v.

7. "... y que en cierta conuersacion en q. estaua el dho G^{or} don ju^o de Eulate con este declarante se mouio platica Acerca de la auctoridad de Su sanctidad. Dijo el dho g^{or} q. si el papa le mandaua Vna cosa y el Rey le mandaua otra q. a solo El Rey obedecería y no el papa, y q. replicandole este declarante q. mirase q. si lo q. mandase su sanctidad era justo y catholica auia de ser obedecido; con todo eso replico El dho g^{or} con mucho enojo y poniendose como vn demonio de Colera q. no avia de obedecer sino al Rey." Declaration of Friar Pedro de Haro de la Cueva, Aug. 22, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 286v.

8. "Dice mas este declarante q. a oydo decir a algunas Personas q. el g^{or} don Ju^o de Eulate a dho que en esta tierra nadie tiene Jurisdicción sobre los meramente Seglares, sino solo el dando a entender q. no tiene el prelado Juridicion alguna sobre los Seglares." Declaration of Friar Pedro de Ortega, Sept. 22, 1621, *Ibid.*, f. 288 v. "Dice mas este declarante q. a dias como cosa de Vn año que oyo decir al g^{or} don Ju^o de Eulate q. el prelado de esta tierra Y yglesia no tenia Jur^{on} alguna sobre ningun Seglar sino solo el que era g^{or} y q. en Mex^{co}. El s^r arcobispo no tenia Jurisdicción sobre ningun seglar y q. si queria Castigar o prender a alguno Se lo quitaua Luego la audiencia Real." Declaration of Friar Pedro de Haro, de la Cueva, Aug. 22, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 286. If Eulate was merely denying the right of an ecclesiastical judge ordinary to arrest a layman without the aid of the secular arm, his view was entirely correct. But the general trend of the evidence rather substantiates the view that he questioned the prelate's *jurisdictional* authority over laymen.

9. Several incidents were related to illustrate Eulate's lack of respect for ecclesiastical censures, but the most important was the result of an investigation involving one of his female servants. This servant asserted that Eulate had forced her to marry against her will, and she appealed to Perea, the custodian, for an annulment of the marriage. While investigating the case, Perea had her placed in an "honorable home" and ordered that no one, under pain of excommunication, should molest her. But Eulate, with contempt for the threatened censure, forcibly removed her from the house where Perea had sent her, beat her, and said that marriage or no marriage she had to serve him. The friars offered this incident to show Eulate's contempt for ecclesiastical censures. One friar, in commenting on this affair, remarked, "... y el propió la açoto con sus manos en su propia casa porq. no se supiesen sus vellaquerías y la tenia publicamente por manceba y hasta oy la tiene por lo que el dho g^{or} sauiedo q. auia yncurrido en la dha descomunion dijo que si el prelado le declarase por descomulgado se haria llevar a mex^{co} preso en una enxalma con muy grande menosprecio de la yglesia." Declaration of Friar Pedro Zambrano, Aug. 18, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 283. In 1626 Perea deposed, on the basis of third-hand evidence, that Eulate had stated that the prelate could not excommunicate anyone without his permission. *Ibid.*, f. 264.

10. "Dice mas este declarante q. el dicho g^{or} se a mostrado enemigo de los Religiosos, en todas ocasiones afrentandolos delante de los españoles y de indios con palabras mal sonantes hasta quererles dar de palos." Declaration of Friar Andrés Juárez, Sept. 2, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 288. "Dice mas este declarante q. es verdad q. el g^{or} don Ju^o de Eulate se a mostrado mortal enemigo de los Religiosos en todos Ocasiones procurando menos preciallos, abatillos y Vitrajallos diciendoles palabras afrentosas y muy mal sonantes y quando saue que algunos soldados dicen algunas palabras contra los Religios no solamente no los Castiga enpero se huelga dello y da a entender q. se huelga de semejantes libertades y desberguenças, y a llegado a tanto extremo q. a querido dar de palos a los Religiosos Publicamente delante de muchos Soldados y yndios Por lo que a perdido su credito la Doctrina y conuersion destos ynfeles por la afrenta que se les hace a sus ministros." Declaration of Friar Pedro de Haro de la Cueva, Aug. 22, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 287.

11. "Dice mas este declarante q. es Verdad q. se a mostrado el g^{or} D. Ju^o de eulate enemigo de la Conuerçon de las almas con sus obras negando de todo la escolta q. su mag.^t tiene aqui para ese efeto no queriendo darla a los ministros que iban a predicar el S^{to} ebangello a todas estas naciones besinas q. a muchos A^s q. son basallos de su Mag.^d y le pagan tributo y sirben personalm^{te} y q. no solam^{te} no a querido inbiar a encomenderos de los dichos pueblos ni a otros soldados para defensa y seguridad de los ministros apostolicos pero que aun a este declarante oydo decir q. a los capitanes Tomas de albisu y fran^{co} gomez que iban de su boluntad acompanyar al ministro los mando que se bolbiesen del camino." Declaration of Friar Andrés Juárez, Sept. 2, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 287v.

12. Several friars complained about Eulate's lack of co-operation in this respect. Friar Pedro de Vergara testified that Eulate asked the Custodian Perea to have the building of churches stopped. Friar Zambrano stated that the governor ordered both Spaniards and Indians not to aid in this work and that he even threatened to have the Indians hanged if they did not obey. Consequently the custodian ordered the friars to discontinue building operations in order to avoid disturbances and controversy. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

13. "Dice mas este declarante q. es verdad q. mandandole al cap^{an} P^o duran de chaues que fuese a uisitar los pueblos de la nacion tehuas le mando que dijere a los yndios naturales que no hiciesen cosa ninguna q. les mandasen los ministros ni les guardasen sus cavallos ni ganado y que solo aculiesen a la doctrina quando tocan la campana." Declaration of Friar Pedro de Haro, de la Cueva, Aug. 22, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 287.

14. "... q. en lo que se dice el ser licito a los yndios Recien convertidos tener ydolos q. es verdad q. a mas de vn año q. el g^{or} don Ju^o de Eulate dijo a este declarante Y al p.^o fr xpobal de quiros q. su mag^d Mandaua en sus Reales hordenanças, q. no se les quitase los ydolos a estos Recien conuertidos hasta tanto tiempo, esto haçiendo mofa y escarnio de lo que los ministros Apostolicos hagen y predicán a los yndios que dejen la Vida vieja y sus ydolatrias y el quitarles como les quitamos los ydolos a los ya Xpianos." Declaration of Friar Pedro de Haro de la Cueva, Aug. 22, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 286. "Dice mas este declarante q. saue de cierto q. todo esto salio del g^{or} don Ju^o de Eulate el qual decia a los Soldados q. El Rey mandaua sus Reales ordenanças q. a los nuevos Chrisianos yndios no se les quitase sus ydolos y mançebas con las quales proposiciones dice este declarante q. se inquietaron tanto los yndios de la nacion tanos i particularmente los de el pueblo de s.^t laçaro q. publicamente estauan ydolatrando quando este declarante fue a administrarles doctrina y saue muy bien q. el ministro q. auia estado alli antes q. es El p.^o fr. P.^o de Ortega se bio muy afligido por esto y q. esto a sido en tanto grado q. asta oy no lo a podido Remediar aquella doctrina por el graue daño q. hicieron aquellas Palabras de los ydolos que dize El g^{or} don ju^o de eulate y el dho Ynterprete Ju^o gomez en los nuevos conuertidos, y dice mas el declarante q. reprehendiendo a un fiscal del pueblo de s.^t laçaro q. se llama Xpobal que en sus amancebamientos Respondio q. Ju^o gomez bendria de Mex^{co} y les trayria horden que vibiesen como quando no eran Xpianos, y esto lo dijeron los ynterpretes de la lengua tanos a Miguel estanjaq." Declaration of Friar Pedro Zambrano, Aug. 18, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 282v.

15. The most celebrated case occurred in the pueblo of Pecos where Friar Pedro de Ortega was guardian. "Dice mas este declarante q. es verdad que el g^{dor} Don Ju^o de Eulate anpara y faborece a los ydolatras, y hechiqeros q^{do} sus ministros los quieren corregir y castigar las tales ydolatrias y hechiqerias, como se berefico en Fr^{co} Moçoyo y su her^{no} yndios de los pecos y queriendo corregir y castigar este declarante como cura y ministro suyo no dandoles mas Penitencia que depositarlo en casa de españoles xpianos y honrrados. El dho g^{dor} don Ju^o de Eulate no consintio sino que lo ynuio otra uez al pueblo con una carta en que decia que no le tocasse sino que le favoreciese al dho ydolatra." Declaration of Friar Pedro de Ortega, Sept. 2, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 289. In 1626 Captain Francisco Pérez Granillo, alcalde ordinario of Santa Fé, confirmed Ortega's testimony and added a few details. He stated that in 1621 he had gone to Pecos to collect certain tributes and that he had found Friar Ortega greatly disturbed because Moçoyo was trying to persuade the Indians not to go to church and was telling them that Eulate had ordered "that they should not go to mass nor to instruction (*doctrina*), or assist at prayers, or obey the minister, and that the governor was their friend." Pérez said that he called the Indians together and in the presence of the friar upbraided Moçoyo and told all the Indians that the governor could not order such things and that they should all obey the minister. Later when he told Eulate what he had done, the latter was angry and demanded by what order or right he had done this. Friar Zambrano, after declaring that Eulate was suspect because of his attitude toward the native priests, added: "tanbien le oydo decir al mesmo don Juan de uulate que no ay bruxos ni hechiceros en el mundo ni los puede auer y los q. tales cossas dicen los tiene por gente facil y nouelera y Para esto no ay rrespuesta mas de lo ordenado por el Santo Officio y lo que cada dia Vemos q. hace en aquel Santiss^o tribunal con esta gente mala y que hacen tanto mal a los cristianos." Declaration of Friar Pedro Zambrano, April 20, 1626. *Ibid.*, f. 280. An interesting commentary indeed!

16. Friar Zambrano hinted this in his remarks concerning the Moçoyo case. He said that Eulate had always favored the idolators and sorcerers "porque le rrescaten gamuças." *Ibid.*, f. 283v.

17. "Dice mas este declarante q. es verdad q. el g^{or} don Ju^o de Eulate tiene por vso tiranico haçer y forçar a los yndios q. trauajen sin paga y actualmente los tiene en

las casas Reales trabajando sin pagarles cosa q. lo tiene por vso el y otros muchos de trabajarlos sin paga y lo tienen por obra lícita." *Ibid.*, f. 283. "Dice mas este declarante q. es verdad q. oyo decir a los alcaldes P^o varela y alvaro garcía. q. el Rey puede mandar a los yndios trauajen sin paga par sus obras y asi be y saue este declarante q. los hacen trabajar en la v^a sin paga como cosa lícita." Declaration of Friar Pedro de Ortega, Sept. 2, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 288v.

18. "Tambien me a hecho Relacion que los Dichos indios padecen notables incomodidades y trauajos en los Repartimientos a que los embais de ciento en ciento y de quarenta en quarenta en las ocasiones que estan haziendo sus sementeras, y en otras que estan ocupados en sus haziendas y que no se les paga cossa alguna por su trauajo," etc. Excerpt from *Copia de lo prouenido en orden al gouierno del nueuo Mexico* . . . Mexico, 5 de febrero de 1621. A. G. I. Mexico 29. This is a viceregal decree, or instruction, directed to Gov. Juan de Eulate. It has been published, Spanish text and English translation, by L. B. Bloom in *NEW MEX. HIST. REV.*, III (1928), 357-380. To be cited hereafter as *Instructions to Eulate*, Feb. 5, 1621.

19. *Ibid.* The legislation on burden-bearing illustrates the conflict between the general humanitarian principles of the Crown and the hard facts of Colonial life and administration that is characteristic of so many phases of Spanish colonial policy and government. It was the general policy of the Crown to limit, or prohibit entirely, the use of Indians as bearers of cargo, even when the Indians were willing to serve for pay, but for a long time exceptions had to be made in many parts of the Indies because of lack of pack animals and suitable pack trails and roads. Cf. *Collección de Documentos Inéditos* . . . de las Antiguas Posesiones Españolas de Ultramar. Segunda serie. XXI, 245-253, for references to cédulas for the sixteenth century. The laws of 1601 and 1609 on personal service definitely prohibited burden-bearing. Cf. excerpt in *Recopilación*, lib. vi, tit. xii, leg. iii.

20. "Dice mas este declarante q. en los q. se dice q. se puede hacer guerra y cautibar a los ynfeles q. conocidamente no son enemigos de la Yglesia ni contradicen la predicacion del s^{to} Euang.^o q. ve cada dia hacen guerra a los ynfeles por sólo hacer presas y q. lo tiene por lícito y los hacen esclauos y q. aunq. los Religiosos sean de Contrario parecer no hacen caso dellos sino lo que les manda su g.^{dor} q. le tienen por su oraculo pero por tratar poco este declarante con españoles no les a Oydo particularmente decir que es lícito." Declaration of Friar Pedro Zambrano, Aug. 18, 1621. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 356, f. 283. This is one of the earliest references to what later became a common custom. There will be references to other instances during the course of this essay. The Spaniards did not regard the captives as outright slaves in many cases, but rather as servants whose labor they could use in return for teaching them Christian doctrine. But this did not prevent the captives from having a definite market value. The slave raids were responsible for a sharpening of the old feuds between the Pueblos and the Apaches.

21. For example: "bale para que diego martin naranjo pueda de las salinas traer dos guerfanos con comunacasion de nro p^o peynado. en 15 de nobiembre de 1620. (signed) Eulate." *Ibid.*, f. 276. The italics are mine. Does this mean that Father Peinado sanctioned the policy of seizing orphans as servants? Whether the orphans were seized to be enslaved outright, or to serve as free house servants, their masters protecting and indoctrinating them, probably matters little, as the results were not much different. The friars definitely stated that they were enslaved. "Dice mas este declarante q. es verdad q. a oydo decir a algunos Soldados q. no se acuerdo quienes q. El g.^{or} de estas Prouy^{as}. Puede mandar sacar los guerfanos de los pueblos de los indios y darselos a los españoles en eterna seruidumbre de la qual xamas se libran y q. este declarante a uisto llevar los guerfanos de su doctrina y darselos a los españoles para perpetuo seruy^o, y q. el clamor de los ministros sobre esto en fauor de los dhos guerfanos no sirue de mas q. de hacerlo mucho peor." Declaration of Friar Pedro de Haro de la Cueba, Aug. 18, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 268v. "Dice mas este declarante q. no

se acuerda aber oydo decir q. es lícito El quitar a los guerdanos su libertad y darlos por sieruos de los españoles mas de que se vee que lo vsa así el g^{or} don Ju^o de Eulate como cose lícita dando vales a los soldados para q. vayan a los pueblos y saquen los huerfanes y se los lleuen a sus casas como negros esclauos porq. si acaso alguna Vez se huyen los dhos guerdanos por la opresion en q. los tienes los ban a buscar Porque los dio el g^{or} y como si fuesen esclauos herados los traen a su casa para perpetua serbidunbre los quales vales avisto este declarante por sus ojos." Declaration of Friar Pedro de Vergara, Aug. 18, 1621. *Ibid.*, f. 285.

22. *Instructions to Eulate*, Feb. 5, 1621.

23. In 1624 Eulate sent several *carretas* with goods to New Spain. Declaration of Capt. Antonio Baca, May 29, 1626, A. G. P. M. Inquisición 356, f. 302. Again in 1626 he used sixteen of the wagons from the mission supply caravan to ship out freight. At the same time he took several Indians to be sold as slaves. *F^{ia} q. otorgo Ju^o Franco de Vertis en favor de Don Ju^o de Eulate q. fue del Nuevo Mex^{co} preso por m^{do} de su Ex.^a . . . 5 de Mayo de 1627.* A. G. P. M., Reales Cédulas y Ordenes, Duplicados, Tomo 8, ff. 33-34.

24. *Instructions to Eulate*, Feb. 5, 1621.

25. The men singled out for personal criticism were Juan Gómez, alcalde ordinario of Santa Fé and encomendero of the pueblo of San Lázaro; Álbaro García, one of the loyal associates of Oñate in 1601 and about 1621 alcalde ordinario of Santa Fé; Pedro Durán y Chaues, sargento mayor and later maese de campo of the local militia; and Alonso Barela, former ally of Father Ordóñez. The fact that Gómez was encomendero of San Lázaro gives especial importance to the charge (see note 14, *supra*) that he told the Tanos, including the Indians of San Lázaro, that they should continue to practice the old pagan ritual. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 356, *passim*.

26. 2^a *Peticion* . . . , 26 de agosto de 1622, in A. G. P. M., Inquisición 486, ff. 61-61v.

27. See Appendix III for a transcript of the document.

28. Declaration of Friar Andrés Juárez, Sept. 2, 1621. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 356, f. 288.

29. These are the declarations which have been cited and from which quotations have been used in the notes above.

30. The decree addressed to Governor Eulate is the document referred to above as *Instructions to Eulate*, Feb. 5, 1621. See note 18, *supra*. A copy of the *real provisión* addressed to Custodian Perea is preserved in the Spanish Archives of New Mexico, State Museum, Santa Fé, New Mexico, No. 1. L. B. Bloom has published an English translation in *NEW MEX. HIST. REV.*, V (1930), 288-298.

31. The Spanish text uses the word "omnimoda" which refers to the bull *Exponi nobis*, May 10, 1522, in which the pope granted his authority—"omnimodam auctoritatem nostram in utroque foro"—to prelates of Mendicant Orders laboring in frontier areas two days journey from the jurisdiction of a bishop. For the complete text of this bull, see Hernández, *Colección de bulas*, I, 382-389.

32. Cf. *Recopilación*, lib. i, tit. x, ley x.

32^a. Quoted from translation by Bloom in *NEW MEX. HIST. REV.*, V, 291-294.

33. Declarations of Frars Ortega, Bautista, and Juárez, May 22, and June 12, 13, 1626. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 356. On the other hand, Eulate had told the Indians of Taos that they should suit themselves about being baptized and that they should pay no attention to what their friar told them. Perea's informant was Juan de Escarra-mad! Declaration of Friar Estéban de Perea, Jan. 26, 1626. *Ibid.*, ff. 260, 264.

34. *Prim^a Peticion* . . . 23 de Agosto de 1627. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 486, f. 61.

35. 2^a *Peticion* . . . 26 de Agosto de 1622. *Ibid.*, ff. 61-61v.

36. The convent at Sandía.

37. Perea stated that he had been informed that if he tried to leave, Chavarria would order the governor to arrest him before he left the jurisdiction of the province. 2^a *Peticion* . . . 26 de Agosto de 1622. A. G. P. M. Inquisición 486, ff. 61-61v.

38. Perea to the Holy Office, Sept. 18, 1622. *Ibid.*, f. 62.

39. "... y para el efecto es persona idonea y apta nuestro padre custodio fr. miguel de chauarria que al presente sale desta tierra la qual ha gouernado con mucha pas como persona religioso y berdadero zelador de la religion christiana." Friar Bernardo de Aguirre to the Holy Office, Oct. 20, 1622. *Ibid.*, f. 65. Chavarría was not a man without experience, and his Order then and later had much respect for him. Friar Asêncio de Zárate, whom he appointed vice-custodian when he left for New Spain, wrote of him: "doy aviso a V^a S^a que el dicho P^o Custodio que ba desta tierra es gran sieruo de dios muy onrrado y principal Prelado que a Regido y gouernado esta nueue yglesia con gran exemplo y edificacion de todos, y merece que se la haga toda mrd. Por ser hombre muy llano y muy amigo y celoso de la carra de dios, y soy testigo desto, Por auer uiuido con el dicho P^o Custodio muchos años e ser muy estimado en la Religion, y a tenido officios muy graues y onrrados, como Maestro de Nouicios del conuento Principal de San Fran^{co} nro P^o de Mexico y Vicario de S^{ta} Clara y Prelado de todas estas Prouincias, y en todo con mucha aceptacion y fama." Zárate to the Holy Office, Sept. 8, 1622. *Ibid.*, f. 66. Similar praise of Chavarría is found in Friar Antonio de la Rosa Figueroa's *Bezzero General Menológico y Chronológico*, 249: "Fue varon de Heroycas Virtudes mui abstinentes penitente y extatico. lo adorno Dios con gracia de milagros, ya dando lluvias al fervor de su oracion ya sanando un leproso el contacto de sus paños menores. Fue varon App^{co} en el Nueva Mexico," etc. These testimonials to Chavarría's character prove that we must regard Perea's denunciations with some caution.

40. "Nuestro P^o fray Miguel de Echauarria . . . sale en este despacho a essa ciudad y corte a negociar lo tocante a esta tierra." Zárate to the Holy Office, Sept. 8, 1622. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 486, f. 66.

41. A *vale* dated Nov. 8, 1624, is in A. G. P. M., Inquisición 356, f. 275.

42. "... tambien es pu^o aber dado licencia don Ju^o de ulate a los indios idolatros de emex Para que biuiesen como ellos biuián antes en su gentilidad y con este fabor quemaron la iglesia y conuento del pu^o de la Congregacion que auia hecho el p^o fray Ger^{mo} de carate y esto hico Por odio que a la Sancta madre yglesia a tenido el dho don Ju^o de ulate." Declaration of Friar Pedro Zambrano, April 20, 1626. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 356, f. 280v.

43. All sorts of charges were made to illustrate Eulate's lack of orthodoxy. In 1626 several persons testified that he said the crucifix need not be adored, but merely revered. On the other hand, two persons denied that Eulate ever made such statements and testified that he had insisted that the Cross should be adored even more than the Virgin! One of the witnesses who defended Eulate was Alonso Barela! Father Benavides, who took this testimony, declared in notes added thereto that Barela was a partisan and accomplice of Eulate and that he was always advising the governor to oppose ecclesiastical authority. (Was Benavides mininformed as to the events of 1613-1614?) Still another witness testified that Barela had stated that it was not a sin to swear falsely! Other remarks ascribed to Eulate were: (1) that a person sinned mortally if he heard mass by a priest who was known to be in sin; (2) that he did not need to fast or pray, for the Church fasted and prayed for him; (3) that friends of the Franciscans were his mortal enemies. Whenever he attended mass, and it was not often, he was inattentive, even during the elevation of the Host. During the Jemez campaign he ate meat on Fridays and during Holy Week, and even urged his soldiers to do the same, promising that he would absolve them! A. G. P. M., Inquisición 356, *passim*.

44. *Ibid.*

45. Friar Estéban de Perea to the Holy Office, Sandía, August 14, 1623. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 345, f. 470.

46. As a layman Benavides had served as an Alguacil Mayor of the Inquisition in Española. In 1603 he took the vows of a Franciscan in Mexico City, and the Order

honored him with offices of responsibility, such as Master of Novices in the convent of Puebla and guardian of the convent of San Juan Temematlac. In 1609 he had served as notary of the Inquisition in Vera Cruz. He was elected custodian on Oct. 19, 1623. F. Scholes, "Problems in the Early Ecclesiastical History of New Mexico," *NEW MEX. HIST. REV.*, VII (1932), 69-70. The date of his appointment as commissary of the Holy Office is not known. The letters of Perea and his associates written in 1622 were received by the Holy Office on April 24, 1623 (A. G. P. M., Inquisición 486, f. 59), and Perea's letter of August 14, 1623, was received on November 6 of the same year (A. G. P. M., Inquisición, f. 40). Benavides' appointment as commissary was probably made in the autumn of 1623, just before or after his election as custodian.

47. It is usually stated that twenty-six friars were sent at this time. See Benavides, *Memorial* (Ayer edit., Chicago, 1916), 6. But the treasury accounts indicate expenditures for *twelve new friars and fourteen already in the province*. A. G. I., Contaduría 726.

48. Transcripts of the documents describing these formalities are in Appendix IV.

49. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 356, ff. 260, 264.

50. *Ibid.*, ff. 258-259.

51. *Ibid.*, f. 257.

52. *Fi^a q. otorgo Ju^o Franco de Vertis en fauor de don Ju^o de Eulate q. fue del Nuevo Mex^{co} preso por m.^{do} de su Ez.^a . . .*, 5 de Mayo de 1627. A. G. P. M., Reales Cédulas y Ordenes, Duplicados, Tomo 8, ff. 33-34.

53. *Custodios de Nuevo Mexico*. Biblioteca Nacional de Mexico, Legajo Series, leg. 9, doc. 8.

54. The reports concerning Perea's genealogy are in A. G. P. M., Inquisición 268, Exp. 5, ff. 1, 2; A. G. P. M., Inquisición 365, Exp. 11/12; Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Inquisición, leg. 1228, núm. 3.

APPENDIX III

Fr. Esteuan de perea De la horden de los frayles menores De nro Pe s^t fran^{co} Cust^o desta custodia De la nu^a Mex^{co} Legado app^{co} y juez ordinario della etts^a Porquanto a mi notiçia a benido q. en la v^a de s^{ta} fe y fuera della en su distrito se an dho muchas palabras malsonantes eroneas, sospechosas escandalosas, y hereticas en grande ofensa de Dios nro s.^r y desprecio de su yglessia, y sus ministros, y contra la humilde y filial obediencia q. deuen a la s^{ta} yglesia Romana el qual mal va creciendo de Dia en Dia, teniendo las dhas cosas y proposiciones por ligitas y justas ynprimiendolas en los pechos de los simples y sencillos con notable daño de las almas asi de los españoles xpianos viejos como de estos naturales reçien convertidos. como es decir q. a estos Reçien conuertidos es ligitó despues De xpanos tener y adorar los ydolos y tener sus mançebos y q. su mag^d lo manda asi en sus Reales hordenanças, y q. en la tierra no ay santos. porque no los veen, q. no es necessario haçer satisfacion alguna por los peccados q. vasta vn peque y confesarlos dicen q. si el g^{or} leuantare alguna seta no diran nada; q. aunq. le echen mill descomuniones no diran nada De lo que le preguntare el prelado. que con vn Puntapie se haran absolver de mill descomuniones: que algunos an aconsejados a otros q. no hagan caso ni teman las censuras Ecclesiasticas y descomuniones: q. Dicen que el prelado no tiene juridiccion alguna sobre los meramente seglares: q. diçen q. el estado seglar y magsime el de la guerra en q. aqui se viue es mas perfecto que el estado ecclesiastico i maxime el de Religiosos que es el que aqui ay: que otros Dicen en desprecio de la auctoridad q. la yglesia tiene sobre todos los fieles El Rey es mi gallo como que a solo El Rey an de obedecer y no a la yglesia: otros Diçen con este mismo desprecio q. el g^{or} es su gallo: otros diçen q. el g^{or} puede forçar a los yndios a que trabajen sin paga ninguna que diçen q. el g^{or} puede haçer guerra y haçer esclauos o depositos a los ynfeles que conocidamente no son enemigos de la yglesia ni contradicen con guerra la predicacion del Euang.^o y que solo por ser ynfeles es ligitó hacelles guerra. o priuallos de su libertad y sujetallos: que dicen q. es ligitó a los gobernadores dar vales para poner en esclauitud o eterna seruidumbre a los juerfanos o otro qualquier libre sin auer cometido delicto, que otros se entremeten en tratar cosas de fe siendo seglares y sin letras estando vedado por los sagrados canones q. quantan a gente simple q. vn hombre Doctissimo provo y defendio en publicas conclusiones ante hombres muy doctos q. las personas de la sanctisima trinidad eran quatro o cinco, de q. se escandalican los simples; que afirman q. el nuncio mando y puede mandar al cauildo de vna yglesia q. son muchas personas juntas y ninguna consagrada y aun algunos sin orden sacra q. hiciese ordenes mayores: q. ay persona q. diçe q. no ay cosa q. mas sienta q. es oyr

vna misa cantada o vn sermon y q. este mismo se a salido del pueblo donde viue al campo a Caça lleuando consigo otros muchos los dia de la semana s.^{ta} y Pasqua de Resurrection y corpus // xpi. con otros muchos Dias q. se le siguieron: que ay Persona q. afirma q. el cantar en el coro en la çelebraçion de los off.^{os} diuinos para mayor honrra y gloria de Dios, es de jente Ruin Vil, o Vaja por lo que an huido algunos hombres honrrados del Coro y no quieren cantar las misas ni los demas off.^{os} diuinos que ay quien diga y afirme q. no puede auer aqui dos cabezas ecclesiastica y secular q. seria monstruosidad sino una sola q. es el g.^{or} q. esta en lugar del rey, q. aqui no ay yglesia ni perlado o cabeça della con otras proposiciones malsonantes y cosas, sospechosas y escandalosas; que an dho Personas de estragadas cociencia con poco temor de Dios y escandalo de los cencillos de buena y sincera fe. y gran daño de las almas El castigo y correction de las quales cosas a mi de derecho yncunbe por tanto Para sacar de la Verdad y administrar justicia corrigiendo los q. en ello vuieren delinquido pretende ynquirir y hacer ynformacion juridica sobre ello q. es ffa. en este Convento de nro Sr s^t fr^{co} de s^{ndia} en diez y ocho dias del mes de agosto de mill y seiscientos y veynte y vn años.

fr esteuan

Por mandado de nro P^e Custodio

de perea cust^o (rúbrica)

Fr. Augustin de Burgos (rúbrica)

Secret^o

A. G. P. M., Inquisición 356, ff. 282-282 v.

APPENDIX IV

ENTRADA DEL COMISS.^o EN EL NUEBO MEX^{co}

En el pueblo y ConV.^{to} de santo domingo desta Cust.^a conVerçion d s. Pablo en estas prouy.^{as} del nuevo mex^{co} a seis dias del mes de enero del año mil y seis sientos y beinte y seis el P.^e Fr. Alonso de benauides de la horden de nro P.^e s. Fran^{co} cust.^o desta Cust.^a Jues ecclesiastico por autoridad app.^{ca} en ellas dijo que porq. los señores inquisidores desta nueva españa le an honrrado con el titulo de primer comiss^o del s.^{ot} off.^o en estas prouy.^{as} para que en ellas leyese y publicase los editos generales de nra s^{ta} fe catolica y conosiese de todas las causas tocantes al ss.^{to} triuunal en la misma forma que los demas comisarios del santo off.^o lo suelen haser y para ello pudiese nonbrar ministros que Con satisfaçion acudiesen a lo que se ofresiese en Virtud de lo qual, el dicho P.^e commiss.^o dijo que nonbraba y nonbro por not.^o destas causas y para leer los santos editos de nra s^{ta} fe catolica a mi el P.^e Fr P.^o de hortega de la horden de nro P.^e s. Fran^{co} saserdote predicador y g.^{an} del convento de la asuncion de nra s.^{ra} parroquial unica de la V.^a de santa Fe el qual off.^o de not.^o yo el dicho P.^e Fr. P.^o de hortega Reçiui con juram^{to} en forma, in berbo saserdotis, que hise ante el dicho P comiss.^o y de nuevo le hago de seruir y exerser el dicho off.^o en

el s.^{to} triuunal con toda fidelidad legalidad y secreto, y en fe dello lo firme con el dicho P.^o commiss^o

Fr Alonso de Benauides
comiss.^o (rúbrica)

Fr. P.^o hortega
not.^o (rúbrica)

En el sobredicho pueblo ConV.^{to} dia mes y año Respecto de no auer auido nunca en estas prouis^a commiss.^o del santo off.^o y ser esta la primera uez q. el santo triuunal le ponía el dicho padre commiss^o Fr Al^o de benauides para auer de tratarlo conforme en su titulo se le mandaua y se asentasen las cosas del santo off.^o con la estimacion que se deue y mas en tierra nueva como esta. adonde no se tiene noticia dellas escriuió de su letra y firma una Carta al almirante d. Felipe sotelo oss.^o que acababa de benir en el mismo despacho por g.^{or} y capitan gl. destas prouy^{as} y otra asimismo de su letra y firma al cabildo de la V.^a de santa fe y Rl. de los españoles que asisten en estas fronteras en que les hasia sauer y manifestaua como los señores inquisidores doctor Ju.^o gutieres flores lisençiado gonsalo mecia lobo doctor d. Fran.^{co} basan y albornos inquisidores apostolicos desta nueva españa le auian honrrado con titulo de // Primer commiss^o del santo off.^o en estas prouy.^{as} para que en ellas leyese y publicase los editors de nra santa fe catolica y prosediese en todas las demas causas tocantes al santo triuunal en la misma forma y modo que suelen los demas comisarios del santo off.^o en los puestos que le son señalados cosa de que sentía el dicho padre commiss^o Resultaua muy grande honrra asi al dicho s.^r como al cabildo y demas españoles pues siendo ellos los que plantaron la fe en esta tierra ayudando con su harma a los Religiosos de san fran.^{co} que la predicaban ellos mismos reciuan tambien la muralla desta nr.^a santa fe catolica que es el tribunas del s.^{to} off.^o que la difiende y que pues el dia y fiesta de la Con-Verçion de s. pablo estaua tan de proximo a beinti y sinco deste mes de enero en cuyo dia y fiesta, el glorioso santo por auer obrado tan maravillosas cosas en esta tierra le tienen por gl. patron parecia al dicho padre commiss^o ese dia se leyesen en la yglesia de la dicha V.^a tambien los santos editos y se Reconosiese al dicho padre commiss.^o en nonbre del santo triuunal, a las quales cartas y rrasones asi el dicho g.^{or} como el cabildo rrepondieron con otras en que sinificaron mui grande gozo y Reciuir en ello toda honrra y que dello estarian sienpre agradecidos y obedientes al santo triuunal pidiendo al dicho padre commiss.^o entrase en la dicha V.^a a beinte y quatro del dicho mes bispera de la Conberçion de san pablo para que le Reçiuiesen como a su juez eslesiastico hordinario por autoridad app.^{ca} como lo son todos los demas custodios en esta tierra y tambien haser particular demostrasion de gozo y Regosijo en rreçiuirle como a Commiss.^o del santo off.^o a quien desde luego se sugetauan con particular aficion y humildad con lo qual el dicho P.^o commiss^o determino su entrada para el dicho dia de que doi fe.

Fr Alonso de Benauides
comiss.^o (rúbrica)

Paso ante mi
Fr. P.^o de hortega
not.^o (rúbrica)

En beinte y quatro dias del mes de enero de mil y seissientos y beinte y seis As^o el P. Fr. Al^o de Benauides comiss^o del santo off^o destas prouyas del nueuo mex^{co} auiendo salido el dia antes del pueblo y con V.^{to} de santo domingo para haser su primera entrada en ests prouyas^{as} dijo que para esta accion y para pregonar luego aquel dia en la dicha V.^a como el siguiente se auian de leer y preg^{ar} los editos de nra s^{ta} fe catolica con la solenidad que se acostunbra era menester nonbrar ministros que lo hisiesen y asi nonbro al capitan manuel correa falcon bien nacido y de buena fama para que Representase el off.^o de alguasil mayor del santo off.^o y asimismo, al sarg^o mayor destas prouyas^{as} Fran^{co} gomes para que llebase enarbolado el estandarte de nra s^{ta} fe catolica con//las armas y escudo del s^{to} off^o tambien de buena fama y mas calificados destas prouyas^{as} con los quales el dicho p^e comiss.^o aconpañado de mi el pres^{te} not.^o Fr. P^o de hortega y de todos los Religiosos desta cust.^a el dicho dia beinte y quatro deste entro en la dicha billa, a la entrada de la qual salieron a reçiurle el dicho g.^{or} alcaldes y cabildo y toda la demas g^{te} puesta en horden a caballo con sus harmas a uso de guerra y el g.^{or} con su guion y los demas lo Reciueron con mui grandes cunplimientos y amor haciendo grandes salbas de arcabuseria y artilleria llebandole en principal lugar, asimismo fue Reciuido en la ygleçia con la solegnidad que los Religiosos suelen la primera ues a sus perlados como lo era tambien el dicho P.^e Comiss.^o y con mucho mayores bentajas disiendo que, pues abiendo plantado ellos nra s^{ta} fe catolica en estas prouyas^{as} entre tantas naciones barbaras como frailes de san Fran^{co} fieles hijos de la santa ygleçia Romana tambien plantauan el tribunal santo del santo off.^o pues frailes de san fran^{co} era a quien el santo triuunal enuiaua a ello con tanta honrra y en est ocaçion y en los demas mostraron el amor y ouediençia que al santo triuunal tienen y auiendo el dicho g.^{or} alcaldes y cabildo aconpañado al dicho padre comiss^o hasta su selda y dejadole en ella fueron aconpañando en la misma forma al alguasil mayor por los calles mas publicas pregonando como se usa. que al otro dia se auia de leer y publicar los editos de nra santa fe catolica en la ygleçia parroquial de aquella billa que nadie faltase, asiendo salba cada ues que se pregonaua con arcabuseria y tronpetas y aquella noche bien tenpestuosa hiçieron sus luminarias y los Regosijos que pudieron, Luego al otro dia 25 deste mes dia de la Conuerçion A oras de missa mayor. el dicho g.^{or} alcaldes, y cabildo, y toda la demas g^{te} y arcabuseria binieron a la selda. del dicho P.^e comiss^o para aconpañarle a la ygleçia como lo hiçieron llebando por delante, el estandarte de nra s^{ta} fe catolica en manos del dicho sarg^{to} mayor aconpañado de los capitanes y detras del el alguasil mayor sobredicho aconpañado de los Religiosos y yo el dicho notario de los rreligiosos mas graues desta Cust.^a y el dicho P.^e comiss^o entre el g.^{or} pres^{te} y pasado que a la sason alli estaua y desta suerte entramos en la ygleçia hasta el lugar del dicho P.^e comiss^o que es al lado del colateral de la parte del ebangelio

del altar mayor, en su silla tapete y coxin. y frontero, en la otra parte vn escaño tapado con una alfonbra. en que nos sentamos. yo el pres^{te} notario, el alguasil mayor y el sarg^{to} mayor. que llebo el estandarte, y el dicho g.^{or} se bolbio a su asiento al crusero de la ygleçia y se comenso, la missa mayor que fue cantada por el P.^e Fr. asençio de sarate vice cust.^o que era por diaconos. dos guardianes principales, acabado el ebangelio me lebante // yo el dicho not.^o acompañado del estandarte de la fe y alguasil mayor y Recuidos de mano del dicho P.^e comiss.^o los editos, fui asimismo al pulpito y los lei en bos alta y inteligible que todos los oyeron y bolbi a entregarselos al dicho P.^e comiss.^o en el dicho puesto. Luego comenso a predicar el P.^e Fr. Al^o de estremera lector de teologia y hiço un grandioso sermon en la misa, a su tienpo se dio la pas al dicho P.^e comiss.^o primero y luego se dio al dicho g.^{or} y acabada la missa bolbieron los mismos en la forma que antes a aconpañar al dicho P.^e comiss.^o hasta su selda en la qual se le ofreçio de nuevo el dicho g. alcaldes, y cabildo rreconosiendole por comiss.^o del santo off.^o y que en el exercicio de su off.^o le siruirian y ayudarian en todo como fieles cristianos de la ygleçia y del santo triuunal y el dicho padre comiss.^o tuuo en respuesta mui honrradas correspondençias con todos de que doy fe, con que uuo gl. aplauso

Fr. Alonso de Benauides
comiss.^o (rúbrica)

Fr. P.^o de hortega
not.^o (rúbrica)

A. G. P. M., Inquisición 356, ff. 291-292 v.





RETRATO DEL SR. D. DIEGO DE VARGAS ZAPATA Y LUJAN
Marqués de la Nava de Barcinas

(From José Pérez Balsera, *Laudemus viros gloriosos et parentes nostros in generatione sua* (Madrid, 1931). See page 208

GOVERNOR VARGAS IN COLORADO

By J. MANUEL ESPINOSA

IN THE last half of the seventeenth century (c. 1664-1680) Juan de Archuleta led a small military expedition north-east from New Mexico to bring back some Taos Indians who had fled to a spot in eastern Colorado afterwards known as El Cuartelejo—what seems to have been the first recorded European expedition to penetrate into the region which is now the state of Colorado.¹ The documentary evidence on this expedition is scant, and the route followed is conjectural. But much of Archuleta's trail must have been familiar ground, for during the two decades preceding the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 it is apparent that frontiersmen from the Spanish settlements of the Upper Río Grande were already opening up what in the eighteenth century came to be the most travelled routes from New Mexico into Colorado.²

After the Archuleta expedition it is generally stated that the next recorded Spanish expedition to enter what is now Colorado was the one led by Uribarri to El Cuartelejo in 1706.³ But it is my purpose to show that Governor Vargas of New Mexico led an expedition up the Río Grande Valley into what is now Colorado in July 1694, an episode which has been overlooked. This Vargas expedition of 1694 is the first

1. Alfred B. Thomas, "Spanish Expeditions into Colorado," in *The Colorado Magazine*, I (November, 1924), 291-292; and his *After Coronado, Spanish Exploration Northeast of New Mexico, 1606-1727* (Norman, 1935), 153, 261.

2. These were the series of trails which led north from Santa Fé to Taos, then either north up the river valley into central Colorado, the principal course followed by the slowly advancing stream of Spanish and Mexican settlement, or east over the Culebra Mountains and finally northeast to the valley of the Purgatoire River. From here explorers and Indian fighters proceeded north into the eastern plains of the state. The return was generally over one or another of these same trails. There were other routes later followed by the Spaniards to enter Colorado. One was northwest toward the La Plata Mountains in southwestern Colorado. Some expeditions went as far as the Gunnison River; one crossed the state and penetrated to the Great Basin. Cf. Thomas, "Spanish Expeditions into Colorado," 290.

3. Cf. Thomas, *After Coronado*, 16. Vargas' expedition northeast of Santa Fé in pursuit of Picuries Indians in 1696, which came as a result of a rebellion on the part of certain Indian groups in the fall of that year, probably reached only into northeastern New Mexico.

Spanish expedition from New Mexico north into Colorado of which we have definite recorded information. The hitherto unutilized original day-to-day account of the expedition, upon which I base my story, may be found in the unpublished official campaign records of Governor Vargas for the year in question.⁴

This expedition, accidental in origin, took place during the reconquest of the Pueblo region under Vargas. The first objective in the reconquest, the reoccupation of the walled city of Santa Fé had been realized on January 1, 1694. This was significant, for Santa Fé became the base of operations from which all New Mexico was eventually reconquered. Nevertheless, for several years thereafter Vargas and his colony were to all intents and purposes stranded on a barren island, for although they were safely intrenched within the walls of Santa Fé food was dangerously scarce and all beyond was hostile. Of twenty-odd pueblos only four were the allies of the Spaniards: Pecos, and the Keres of Santa Ana, Sia, and San Felipe. These had remained faithful to their promises of 1692. The hostile natives of the other pueblos had barricaded themselves on the mesas and on the rims of the canyons. Those of Jémez and the Keres of Santo Domingo were on the mesas near their respective pueblos; the other Keres were on the mesa of La Cieneguilla de Cochití; most of the Tanos and the Tewas were on the mesa of San Ildefonso, the rest in nearby canyons; and the Picuríes and Taos (the northern Tiwas) were in their original pueblos.

As for provisions, on June 2, 1694, Vargas wrote a letter to the viceroy in which he said that the Spanish colonists at

4. "Testim^o de los Autos de Guerra de la Reconq^{ta} de este R^{no} de la Nueva Mexico . . . Año de 1694," in the Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, *Historia*, tomo 39. This is Vargas' official campaign journal for the period January 23 to July 16, 1694. Vargas entered Colorado on July 8 of that year. There are transcripts of these documents in the *Bolton Collection*, Bancroft Library, Berkeley. Among the badly damaged, and in this case inadequate, fragments of the original copy of the journal for this period preserved in the Santa Fé Archive, Santa Fé, New Mexico, are entries for January 23-30, February 11 to March 5, March 26 to May 30, June 16, June 23-29, July 1-6, and July 8-26.

Santa Fé, over 1,100 persons, were destitute.⁵ They had no livestock except 500 horses. Continued hostilities prevented the people from planting their fields, so they still depended upon what they were able to pilfer from the granaries of the surrounding Indian pueblos and what was sent up from Mexico. Toward the end of June, Father Farfán arrived at Santa Fé with his long delayed colony of sixty-one and a half families from Mexico.⁶ This meant more reinforcements but it also meant additional mouths to feed, so with both of these ideas in mind Vargas decided to embark upon a campaign to crush the rebellious nations of Jémez and Santo Domingo. Both of these continued their murderous forays against the three friendly Keres pueblos. The plan was to make the expedition immediately. A public proclamation was made by the official crier to the sound of military instruments as was customary on such occasions, and the little army was assembled. But the Río Grande was found running dangerously high so the expedition was temporarily postponed.⁷

In view of this delay and the pressing need of feeding the colony, Vargas decided upon a quick trip to the Tano and Tewa pueblos, thence to Picuríes, for the purpose of stocking up with maize from their abandoned granaries. If necessary he was prepared to go even as far as Taos.⁸ As it turned out he went even farther north, into what is now southern Colorado, before the expedition was completed.

On June 30, 1694, the expedition started, proceeding in two divisions, Vargas and the faithful Don Juan, the Pecos chieftain, in the vanguard with fifty leather-jackets and an army of Pecos allies, and fifty militia with the pack train bringing up the rear.⁹ At Cuyamungué, four leagues north

5. Diego de Vargas to the Count of Galve, Santa Fé, June 2, 1694. Archivo General de la Nación, Mexico City, (hereafter referred to by A. G. N.), *Historia*, tomo 39.

6. Vargas' journal, June 23, 1694, *ibid.* Bancroft erroneously states that this second colony consisted of seventy families, as did the original one. (H. H. Bancroft, *History of Arizona and New Mexico*, (San Francisco, 1889), 206.

7. Vargas' journal, June 28-29, 1694.

8. *Ibid.*, June 29, 1694.

9. *Ibid.*, June 28, 30, and July 4, 1694.

of Santa Fe, a group of Indians attacked the vanguard, and refusing to listen to peaceful overtures they did not take to flight until eleven of them had been killed. An inspection of the mesa of San Ildefonso brought forth manifestations of enmity in the form of yelling and war whoops. Vargas made no attempt to provoke a battle, and camped on the edge of the Río Grande a league from the mesa.¹⁰ Turning eastward from the Río Grande up the valley of the Santa Cruz River, the expedition passed through San Lázaro and San Cristóbal,¹¹ whose residents had planted their fields, then to the former hacienda of Moraga¹² seven leagues from where they had pitched camp the night before.¹³ Picuries, on the edge of the canyon,¹⁴ was reached toward evening. It was abandoned, but Vargas set up a cross in the square and refused to allow pillage of any kind.¹⁵

A rough and trying mountain pass led to Taos. This pueblo was likewise found abandoned, but crosses had been placed on all of the houses. Vargas believed that this had been done as an act of piety born of fear, which was exactly the idea that the crafty Indians meant to convey, hoping thus to prevent the Spaniards from molesting their property and

10. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1694.

11. These pueblos, on the site of the former Spanish town of Santa Cruz, were now abandoned. Their residents had removed to the rebel stronghold on the mesa of San Ildefonso (*Ibid.*, March 20-23, April 23, May 23, 1694). There is material evidence to show that there was an Indian pueblo at Pueblito, near the present Potrero, about two miles east of Santa Cruz, on the Santa Cruz River. This may have been the exact site of the pueblos at one time or another during the wanderings of their Tanos inhabitants, as some historians state, but this is only a surmise; there are other ruins in the vicinity.

The Tanos of San Lázaro and San Cristóbal had moved from their original pueblos south of Santa Fé to the Santa Cruz valley after the Pueblo Revolt of 1680 in order to be closer to their allies. (For a description of the location and ruins of the former pueblos in the vicinity of Galisteo, and a statement of reasons for their removal in 1680, cf. R. E. Twitchell, *The Leading Facts of New Mexican History* (2v., Cedar Rapids, 1911), I, 359-360, n. 368; F. W. Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* (2v., Washington, 1907-10), II, 428, 446).

12. The hacienda of Moraga mentioned in the diary was probably the one later the property of Antonia de Moraga, who held land in the vicinity of Chimayó after the Pueblo Revolt. Cf. Twitchell, *The Spanish Archives of New Mexico* (2v., Cedar Rapids, 1914), I, titles 496, 1021.

13. Vargas' journal, July 1, 1694.

14. Vargas must have turned north through the Truchas country.

15. *Ibid.*, July 2, 1694.

looting their granaries.¹⁶ A cross was set up by Vargas in an open square between the two great communal dwellings. Sergeant Major Antonio Jorge was sent to plant another cross at the entrance to the heavily wooded mountain canyon about a half a league north of the pueblo, which was known to be their place of refuge. On the way a group of Apaches appeared. They shook hands in friendly manner, and said that they had been trading with the Taos when Governor Pacheco heard of Vargas' coming, for which reason he and his people had fled to the entrance of the canyon, whence the Apaches had accompanied them.

Vargas went with fifteen men to plead with Pacheco at the mountain retreat, with Don Juan, the Pecos leader, as interpreter. But Pacheco stubbornly refused to talk. Don Juan, then, blind to Vargas' warnings, decided to spend the night in the mountains with Pacheco in order to speak with him and attempt to win him over. In the presence of everyone he divested himself of his spurs and powder pouch, put down his cloak, shield, and arquebus, embraced Vargas, and leaving even his mule behind, went unarmed to join the enemy. Whereupon Vargas returned to where his men were, and pitched camp by the river a short distance below the pueblo, there to await an answer.¹⁷

But no answer was forthcoming. And on the following morning, when Vargas returned to parley with the enemy, it was learned that they had moved farther into the mountain, at the entrance to which guards had been posted behind the rocks and thickets. And when Don Juan was asked for, the rebels answered with vague and ambiguous phrases. He was never seen again. Vargas waited till past noon, and then he ordered the sacking of the pueblo. The lower rooms were broken into with an iron crow bar, and until evening the Indian allies were engaged in loading the mules with fresh maize.¹⁸ That night all was silence in the direction of the mountain retreat of Taos, but across the canyon leading

16. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1694.

17. *Ibid.*, July 3, 1694.

18. *Ibid.*, July 4, 1694.

south to Picurías a great smoke could be seen in the moonlight. On the following day smoke signals in increasing numbers could be seen on the mountain tops all around the valley of Taos.¹⁹

Since it was impossible to transport the recently acquired heavy loads of grain over the difficult mountain passes by way of Picurías without great risk, even danger of the camp being trapped by the rebels and annihilated, Vargas and the leaders decided that it would be much safer to return to Santa Fé round about through the Ute country, on the fringes of what is now southern Colorado, thence to the capital by way of the Chama River.²⁰ The expedition left at midnight, July 6, supposedly unobserved. But after having traveled about a half a league northward along the edge of the mountains in which the Taos had hidden themselves, the sight of a low fire signal gave indication that they were being followed. The Spaniards marched in three divisions, each one close at the heels of the other: forty soldiers in the vanguard led by the field captain Juan Olguín, with the train and luggage, Vargas and the fighting squadron in the middle, and Eusebio de Vargas and thirty soldiers in the rear, all travelling on horses and mules.²¹

On the morning of July 7, about six leagues north of Arroyo Hondo, the camp was ambushed by about eighty Taos Indians, five of whom were killed and two captured before the others took to flight. The captives were questioned, and from one of them it was learned that Pacheco had thirty Indians spying on the Spaniards all the way, and that Governor Juan of Pecos was alive but held prisoner. Both of the Indians were absolved and shot.

19. *Ibid.*, July 5, 1694.

20. *Ibid.*, July 6, 1694. This plan was suggested by some of the older members of the expedition, former residents of New Mexico who apparently knew the route.

21. *Ibid.*

Vargas continued on to the Río Colorado,²² the confines of which were inhabited by the Apaches del Acho²³ and whose meadows were the pasture ground of the buffalo, as the great amount of dung indicated. After passing through a beautiful country of many fertile river-valleys and tree-arched arroyos, Vargas camped on the edge of the Culebra River,²⁴ nine long leagues north of the Río Colorado.²⁵ The Culebra River was followed westward four long leagues to where it emptied into the Río Grande, then down the Río Grande

22. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1694. The route: two and a half leagues from the camp near Taos to the Arroyo Hondo; ten leagues to the Río Colorado, including the two and a half leagues to the Arroyo Hondo.

23. *Ibid.*, July 8, 1694. This is the first known reference to this Apache tribe. Twelve years later Juan de Uribarri refers to the "Achos" among the Apache groups which lived in the same region when he passed through on his way to El Cuartelejo (Cf. "Diary of Ulibarri," in Thomas, *After Coronado*, 63). Are these Apaches del Acho the "Acha" of Castañeda's account of the Coronado expedition, whom Bandelier identified with the Picuries? (Cf. Hodge, *op. cit.*, II, 245.)

24. *Ibid.* Vargas' route between Taos and the Culebra River seems to have been approximately the same one later followed by Anza on his way back from the Comanche country in 1779. Compare with the diary of Governor Anza's expedition against the Comanche in Thomas, *Forgotten Frontiers*, 137, and Anza's map, *ibid.*, frontispiece.

25. Vargas' journal, July 8, 1694. The present Culebra River in precisely this vicinity enters the Río Grande about fourteen miles north of the New Mexico-Colorado line. I here reproduce in translation the extract from Vargas' diary which tells the story of the crossing into Colorado:

Said governor and captain-general reaches the Culebra River and with the camp spends the night there.

On the eighth of the present month of July of this year, I, said governor and captain-general, called upon the interpreters of this expedition, and they informed me that the mountains that run along the edge of the Río Colorado are inhabited by the Apaches del

Acho, and that the Ute nation, which we are looking for, does not countenance them in their land, for which reason I should flee from this place, which is also the farthest point to which the rebel Taos Indians, who still have sentinels and spies watching us, come out on the trail of the buffalo, the dung of which has been found in different parts, as along the descents from the mountain to the river.

And in order that the Utes, whom we are seeking, may know of our arrival in the kingdom of New Mexico and the villa of Santa Fé, I ordered that large smoke signals be raised, and I marched on with the camp to the Culebra River, it being nine long leagues distance, and all country of extended valleys and many arroyos with groves of trees. It is evident, from the dung which was found, that the buffalo pastures here. Having reached the Culebra River at six o'clock in the evening I pitched camp in order to spend the night with my men on its bank.

In testimony of said march I signed this with the military leaders and my secretary of war and government.

Don Diego de Vargas Zapata Lujan Ponce de Leon—Antonio Jorge—Diego Arias de Quiros—Antonio Valverde.—Before me, Alfonso Rael de Aguilar, Secretary of War and Government.

several leagues to a steep walled ford,²⁶ and across four leagues west of this point to the San Antonio River, which faced the mountain of the same name.²⁷ Here several days were spent hunting buffalo and elk. On one occasion a herd of over five hundred buffalo was seen in a meadow in the San Antonio Mountains, but they stampeded when an attempt was made to hunt them down, and only about twenty-three were killed.²⁸

Suddenly, on July 11, just before dawn, the camp was raided by a group of Utes armed with bows and arrows and war clubs.²⁹ The Spaniards were taken completely by surprise, and six were wounded before the alarm brought resistance. After eight Utes had been killed, the others fled across the river.³⁰ From there they waved a buckskin as a flag of peace, and cried out "Anche pauiche," meaning in their language "My friend and brother." Then they recrossed the river and mingled peacefully as though nothing had occurred. They were given gifts of maize, dried meat, a horse, and numerous European trifles. There were about three hundred of them counting the women.³¹

Their apologetic explanation of the reason for their surprise attack was quite plausible. They pointed out how before the revolt of 1680 they had been the friends of the Spaniards, but had always been the enemies of the Tewas, Tanos, Picuríes, Jémez, and Keres. During the period of pueblo independence these rebels had often come to this region to hunt buffalo disguised as Spaniards, mounted, and with leather jackets, leather hats, firearms, and even a bugle, all of which they had taken from the Spaniards at the time of the revolt. Whenever they went on these excursions the

26. *Ibid.*, July 9, 1694.

27. *Ibid.*, July 10, 1694.

28. *Ibid.*, July 10-11, 1694.

29. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1694. Not the night of the 12th as Bancroft states. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 210.)

30. Vargas' journal, July 11, 1694. Bancroft is again erroneous in his statement that eight Spaniards were killed, instead of eight Utes. (Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 210.)

31. Vargas' journal, July 11, 1694.

Utes had attacked them, hence the recent misfortune, a result of mistaken identity.³²

From here the expedition proceeded southward to the vicinity of Ojo Caliente, and by way of the Chama River to San Juan.³³ Thence the pack train and most of the camp were sent directly to Santa Fé, while Vargas, with forty soldiers, went to reconnoiter the mesa of San Ildefonso. The rebels were still strongly intrenched there. As he had no desire to provoke a battle, he joined the vanguard at Jacona, and the united expedition entered Santa Fé by way of Tesuque on July 16.³⁴

During the seventeen day excursion the expedition had covered over one hundred and twenty leagues,³⁵ a protracted journey, but all of the much needed grain reached its destination safely, so the trip was a success.³⁶ For this reason alone the expedition was important. The large amount of maize pilfered at Taos was now distributed among the families at Santa Fé.³⁷

*Saint Louis University,
Saint Louis, Missouri*

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*, July 12-15, 1694.

34. *Ibid.*, July 15-16, 1694.

35. *Ibid.*, July 16, 1694.

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*, July 17, 1694.

BOURKE ON THE SOUTHWEST, IX

Edited by LANSING B. BLOOM

Chapter XVII

ZUÑI ETHNOLOGY

[*May 20, 1881.*] . . . Put on my full uniform and paid a visit of state to Pedro Pino, one of the head men, formerly governor and father to Patricio, the present governor: with me went Palfrey, whose services proved to be of the greatest value to me.¹ When we entered the room, the old man was employed in tying feathers to little sticks which, as he soon told us were to be planted in the fields to insure good crops. He arose and made us welcome and sent one of the squaws to bring us a wooden trestle to serve as a seat, after a very fine blanket had been spread over it.

"I see you have on a uniform," said the old man, "wait a moment until I put on my good clothing"; and, suiting the action to the word, he drew from a rack in the corner a long-tailed red-flannel shirt which he donned with becoming dignity and was then ready for business. I explained to Pedro in my best Spanish that I was an officer of the army, that the Great Father had sent me out to see him and his son, as well as to see my friend, Cushing, in whose career the Great Father took the liveliest interest²; that I was very much disappointed in not being able to see Cushing who could so well explain all that I wanted to say and that, in his absence, I would only hope that Pedro and I might understand each other in Spanish. Many of the old army officers, I continued, remembered Pedro and spoke of him in the kindest way and from them I had learned that he knew more than any other Zuñi of the history, traditions and customs of his tribe. It was asserted by some ignorant people that the Zuñis were not a bit different from the wild Indians who roamed the plains and were only a little above the level of the brute, but I knew better than this and wished that Pedro would give me a list of the families or clans of his people so that I could show the white men when I returned to

1. On Palfrey, see page 118.

2. On Frank H. Cushing, see page 94.

Washington that the Zuñis were a most excellent race, equal to the Americans in every respect. In making this speech I was obliged to deal much in exaggeration and flattery, but the bait took and my hopes were gratified beyond my anticipations. Before the old chief could reply, I explained to him that Palfrey was also an officer like myself and that the absence of his wagons was the reason why he did not appear in full uniform in honor of the occasion. Our conversation and uniform combined seemed to make a great impression upon Pedro and much to my delight he became very communicative.

"These feathers, you see," he said, "are to bring us rain. All the Zuñis will plant these feather sticks in the ground and water will come down on their crops." The Zuñis (he continued), were a very good people and widely different in habits and behavior from the Apaches and Navajoes who were very bad. The Zuñis never had but one wife, while the other Indians had three or four. There are many "gentes" here. (Using the Spanish word "gente" to mean "gens" or "clan.") When a young man marries he goes to live with his wife's gens and his children belong to that gens. Now I, Pedro Pino, am one of the Aguila (eagle) gens, but my wife belongs to the Guacamayo (Parrot) gens and all my children belong to the same gens. And I live with my wife's people but when I die the Eagle gens will bury *me*, because I am an Eagle and have been a great captain in that gens. The names of these gentes are as follows:

1. Agua—water.
2. Grulla—crane.
3. Aguila—eagle.
4. Oso—bear.
5. Coyote—cayote.
6. Guacamayo—owl? (Huacamayo—Macaw—Parrot.)
7. Maiz—corn (Toácue, Zuñi.)
8. Tortuga—tortoise.
9. Póllilli—road runner.
10. Bunchi—tobacco.
11. Palo amarillo—yellow stick^a (tá-subchí-cue, Zuñi).
12. Sol—sun.
13. Olla-jocué—sunflower?
14. Tejon—badger.

3. Bourke adds the following note: I think now (July 20th, 1881) that this gens is the Palmilla or Yucca, which is also found among the Tegua Pueblos.

The old man repeated each name twice and after I had written them down, the list was read to him for correction. With 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, and 12, there was no difficulty at all. No. 6, he explained was a small bird about the size of the "gabilan blanco" (white sparrow-hawk) which lived in this land and flew above us in the sky. Palfrey and I both conjectured from this explanation that it must be an owl.⁴ No. 9 Palfrey identified from the feathers which Pedro showed him to be the "road-runner," a variety of tufted grouse having two long stiff feathers projecting from its tail and deriving its American name from its habit of running swiftly up and down roads and trails in Arizona and New Mexico. No. 10, we were told was "tobacco," probably the plant smoked by the Zuñis. Pedro said it was not *American* tobacco. Concerning the identity of 11 and 13, we were completely in the dark, but surmised that the former might be the osier and the latter the sunflower. Our host endeavored to make us know what Olla-jocué was by saying that it was a small plant not more than two feet high with a yellow flower. This account agreed perfectly with the description of the wild sun-flower of this Western country.

He gave us the clan captains:

Agua—Juan Setimo, the silver smith.

Grulla—Juan.

Aguila—himself, Pedro Pino.

Oso—Francisco

Coyote—Santiago.

Guacamayo— _____.

Maiz—José Pallé.

Tortuga—Vicente.

Póllili—Vicente No. 2.

Tejon— _____.

Bunchi— _____.

Palo Amarillo— _____.

Sol—Manuel.

Olla-jócue— _____.

Clans marked _____ were not given.

"The people of Laguna and Acoma are divided the same as we, but you must go there to ask them; my grandson, Napoleon, is governor of Acoma. In Zuñi, we call

4. Note by Bourke: It proved to be the Mexican Huacamayo or Macaw parrot of Sonora.

Father—*tá-chu*.

Mother—*si-tá*.

Uncle—*chachu*.

Aunt—*cha-sé*.

Cousin—*hom-sué*.

Brother—*hom-pápu*.

The old fellow went on to tell us that each Indian in the pueblo had been baptized and had a name given, but he evaded my inquiries as to the Indian names they have, if any.

He said that each gens had its captain or cacique and over the whole community presided the "gobernador." There was also a cacique of the sun who watched the sun and apprised the people when the time for planting, etc., had come. He eluded all our efforts to ascertain who this "cacique of the Sun" was. His orders had to be obeyed by everybody when he gave them; one of the principal functions of this cacique was to kindle the sacred fire in honor of the Sun. The Sun was good for the Zuñis, but the rattlesnake was bad.

In playing their great national game of "kicking the sticks," the different clans sent their representative players to the field, decked and painted with clan "totems;" thus the Eagle gens would be painted with yellow specks on front of body to represent that bird; the Agua (water) would have a toad on belly; the Crane, painted like a crane on the back; the Bear, like a bear in front; the cayote painted with white clay to resemble that animal; the Corn would have the fruit and flowers of that plant on back; the Tortoise, painted like a tortoise on back; the Road-runners would wear a crest of feathers; the Badger, white stripes down his face; the Tobacco, the Bunchi plant on breast; the Palo Amarillo, that plant in yellow on the breast; the Sun, a blue, rayed sun on the back, while the Olla-jocué had arms, hands and feet painted white.

Our visit, thus far, had been most satisfactory, but I had now to suffer a very decided rebuff. I asked Pedro if he would not let me accompany him to the fields and help him plant the medicine feathers which he had been making during our conversation.

"My friend," rejoined the old man, "everybody in this world has his own business to attend to; for instance, there is the maestro, (i. e., the school-master, the missionary, Rev. Dr. Ealy) he has his business, he teaches school; then there is Mr. Graham, he has his business, he sells flour and sugar

and coffee in his store, and I have my business, *I am going to plant these feathers and so, everybody has his own business.*"

I got the idea from this remark that my services as a planter would not be needed, and, therefore, thought I would get the old man in a good humor by thanking him for all he had told me and inviting him to go down to Mr. Graham's store for a present of sugar. When we reached the store, Mr. Graham made his dog climb up and down a ladder for our amusement; this is an accomplishment in which all the dogs of the Zuñi are proficient; the little babies also begin to ascend and descend these ladders at an extremely early age; indeed, I saw numbers of naked children that couldn't have been two years old, climbing up and down with the greatest of freedom.

Looked down into an "estufa," which was 65' long, 25' wide, and 8' high, built of sandstone rubble laid in mud, foundation just upon ground. Entrance by ladders. Air-hole one foot square in roof and three windows, each one foot square, with sills of sandstone; no panes of glass or "yeso."

Called, with Palfrey, upon Dr. and Mrs. Ealy and Miss Hannecker, Presbyterian missionaries and teacher.

The Zuñis have the game of "fox and geese," played upon slabs of sandstone, marked in squares. Rude straw matting is made for covers to doors. The chimneys are made of "ollas," the "flues" are built of stone and mud and wood.

In the evening, I had a long conversation with Charles Franklin, to whom I read the list of "gentes" obtained from Pedro. Franklin is not a man of fine education, but is unusually clear-headed. He understood at once what I meant by "gentes," altho' he persisted in calling them "cliques." He said he thought the list was almost complete, except that it lacked the Snake, the Wolf and the Deer or Antelope gente, which he was certain existed. The "cayote" may be a clan which Franklin designates as the "Wolf," and I agree with him in believing that there may be a small Rattlesnake gens, because Palfrey and I saw the figure of that reptile worked in high relief on a single piece of pottery this afternoon; for the like reason, we do not deny that there may be a Deer gens, since the figure of the deer frequently occurs upon their ollas and vases.

Franklin instanced a curious superstition prevalent among the Zuñis. They reverence the sun-flower highly and when absent upon some commercial or warlike expedition at a distance from home, the Zuñi warrior will pluck one of these flowers from its stem, breathe a prayer upon it and cast it from him with all his strength. If the flower fall downward, the Zuñi knows that his wife has been untrue to him; but if it turn toward him or the Sun, the loyalty of the absent spouse is established beyond question.

Each "clique," said Franklin, has a cacique, whose office is elective, not hereditary; the tenure is for life or during good behavior. These caciques elect the "tapoop," or gobernador, who holds his place for two (2) years. The election is secret, but generally a fair representation of the wishes of the community which the caciques from their office have the best means for learning.

Deposition is likewise determined upon in secret; some 12 or 15 years ago, one of their tapoops was deposed for inefficiency. The manner of proceeding was about as follows: the caciques assembled with "closed doors" and selected (3) three of their number who were to effectually disguise themselves and perform the ceremony of deposing the old governor and installing the new. The whole tribe was assembled, all being present who were not sick, excepting the caciques who from motives of prudence remained concealed or if they mingled among the crowd did so in disguise. The three (3) deputies now entered, all muffled up and one of them dressed as an old woman. The delinquent tapoop was brought before them and in squeaky artificial voices they reproached him with his inefficiencies and shortcomings and he was then commanded to surrender his baton of office. Then the "old woman" took a rag and slapped the deposed tapoop in the face with it, saying that he was no better than an old woman and should now begone. The complete disguise of the judges and the fact that only three of the caciques officiated would naturally increase the difficulty of determining their personality, in case the deposed official should at any time contemplate revenge.

Franklin said that each cacique has his specific duties; he of the sun is the "time-keeper" and perhaps, has more power than any of the others. He notifies the "tapoop" who is the executive officer of the town, when the time has come

for planting, reaping, etc., and that for the celebration of any of their feasts.

At the commencement of their new year, some time in December when the days are very short, (Winter Solstice?) they put out all fires and sweep the chimneys clean; sweep and clean out all their houses. New fires are kindled from the sacred fire, which is either a fire made and blessed by the caciques or else is one they preserve, I don't know where. When I was first with them I had been for a long time sick with scarlet fever, and about the time this fire feast came on, I was lying on my bed, alone in the house and feeling chilly, got up and kindled a little flame to warm myself. The smoke, escaping from the chimney, betrayed and aroused the indignation and fears of the caciques, who hurried to the house where I was living and found me suffering from a relapse brought on by over-exertion. They cautioned me against my indiscretion and said that my sickness was a just punishment for having committed the crime of kindling that fire, that I was now a Zuñi, I must conform to their ways, unless I wished bad luck to pursue me, when I violated them. For (10) ten days, they allowed no fire at all, except in cases of greatest necessity, such as cooking a small amount of food. No one is allowed to smoke in the streets and nobody eats any meat for the first (4) four days. If a man should eat any meat during those four days, he would die.

They made peace with the Apaches (150) one hundred and fifty years ago and have kept it ever since. They know the Navajoes and the Pueblos very well and do a good deal of trading with them. They used to have wars with the the Navajoes and the tops of their houses were protected by parapets when I first came here. There were *no* doors on the lower floors; all these doors have been put in since 1865. They told me that during the Navajo war, (1862-3) one of their men betrayed symptoms of cowardice. They held a sort of a court martial over him and sentenced him to *run the gauntlet*; he was beaten to death with clubs.

"They eat peaches, the only fruit they raise; piñon nuts, they have no acorns; pumpkin, squash and melon seeds as well as the fruits themselves; the roots of wild cane (carrizo); the bulb of the tulé; wild dates (Spanish bayonet) and the tuna (nopal cactus.) They plant corn, wheat, beans (frijoles), chile, melons, squashes, pumpkins, onions, garlic, parsley and peaches. The Zuñis and other Pueblos use a

great deal of mutton tallow in their cooking. They have a "Buffalo Dance" in the winter, which, according to their traditions, is the dance to secure a good hunt. The buffalo, they say, used to come near here, that is nearer than it has done in our time.⁵ They don't hunt buffalo now. They eat deer, antelope, jack-rabbits and dogs, crickets, grasshoppers, horses, mules, donkeys, beef, mutton and kid. They eat rats (field rats). They won't eat squirrels or hogs, but will eat bacon. They have horned cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys, horses, chickens, hogs and turkeys. They won't eat chickens or eggs, but keep them to sell and raise eagles for their feathers; they catch them when they're young. They attach great importance to the "medicine" power of the eagle feather which the clowns use in their dances. One of these dances is a very wonderful thing. I must tell you about it, as I saw it years ago and up to that time at least was certainly the only American who ever had seen it.⁶

They are extremely superstitious in regard to persons suffering gun-shot wounds. They think that presence in the room in which is a woman about to be confined will have a disastrous effect upon the new-born child. This danger can be obviated by calling in the medicine men who will repeat prayers and then blow ashes up the chimney.

A little baby is carefully rubbed with ashes, which they think act as a depilatory and keep hair from growing on face and body.

Women, as a general rule, bear the pangs of childbirth with great ease. When the time of accouchement has arrived, they prepare a bed of sand upon which the patient kneels, easing her pains by pulling upon raw-hide ropes attached to the rafters. During labor she is assisted by one or two old women. In their treatment of lying-in women, the Zuñis closely resemble the Navajoes. They do not commit proticide, and are very fond of their children, whom they rarely, if ever, punish. Bastards are treated with the same consideration as legitimate children. The names of these Zuñis are of Spanish origin received in baptism, to

5. This tradition must date from prehistoric times. At least, Coronado's men in 1540 saw no buffalo until they got east of the Pecos river.

6. It has seemed best to delete the brief description which follows, but the editor will furnish it to any student of ethnology who requests it. Bourke himself comments: "This peculiar ceremony can safely be set down as a survival of phallic worship, having for its object the development of amorous tendencies among the growing girls to induce them to marry early."

which most of the older people have been subjected. Each has a second name which it is almost impossible for a stranger to obtain. Their names are not changed after reaching maturity. A system of ward and guardianship seems to obtain among them.

The Zuñi women wear an underskirt of calico and over this a blanket dress made exactly like those of the Moquis—extending from shoulder to knee, fastened at right shoulder and leaving the left arm shoulder and upper half of left bust exposed. It is fastened again under arm-pits (but leaving room for nursing their babies from under the arms) and from waist to extremities, much as the dress of the Shoshonee women. A red and yellow worsted girdle, four inches wide, confines the dress at the waist and a pattern of herringbone stitch is darned in blue in the skirt at hem and in red or yellow at the right shoulder. These dresses in color are black or dark blue and sometimes have scarlet bands woven at the upper and lower borders. Their leggings and moccasins have already been described. Women frequently wear aprons and while within doors a square blanket thrown around neck; in the open air, this is used as a “tapalo”; it is at times replaced by a square piece of cloth whose ends are made to serve the double purpose of dish-clout and handkerchief. The arms, necks and busts of the Zuñi women who have not outlived their first youth, are beautifully rounded, owing, I imagine, to their habit of working at grinding meal and also of carrying large jars of water on their heads. This last practice no doubt strengthens the spine and shoulders and keeps them in shape. The men, when out of doors are nearly always enveloped in blankets. They use the fibre of the Spanish bayonet for thread and the feathers of the wild turkey and eagle to ornament their heads and hats.

The cradles of the Zuñi children differ but slightly if at all, from those of the Apaches, Navajoes, Shoshones, Sioux, and other tribes. The shape is practically the same, altho’ the ornamentation employed by each tribe may be peculiar to itself. But, very frequently, the Zuñi mother, in a hurry to run out and gossip with some neighbor, will pick up her infant and carry it on her back, wrapped in her blanket.

Their necklaces are made of beads of malachite, of sea-shells, silver buttons and balls, made by themselves. Their finger rings are of silver and their ear-rings and bangles of

same material cannot be distinguished from those made by the Navajoes. They wear no nose-rings, nose-sticks or labrets.

The hair of both men and women is gathered carefully together at the back of the head and wrapped with red yarn; that growing on sides and forehead is suffered to hang loose, with a part on one side. Very often, the men wear a bandeau or bandana or colored muslin tied about the forehead, the same as the Navajoes and Apaches. The women never wear these bands, but part the hair on the side, brush it down flat on sides and cut off the ends square at the level of the mouth.

For toys, the Zuñi children have tops, bows and arrows, slings, dolls and doll's dresses, and also are allowed to play with very young puppies and with dead kids stuffed with hair or wool for this purpose.

Both boys and girls play "shinny," and "fox and geese,"—the shinny ball is made of buckskin stuffed with wool and in shape is flat like a pat of butter. The men play "sock-ball" and a game something like our "hen and chickens." They have among them a modification of the "odd or even" of the Shoshonees; a white ball or stick is hidden under one of several tiles (made of pottery) and its place is determined by guess-work. They have ten (10) tally straws and in all its other features adhere to the practice of the game as played by the tribes farther to the North. They engage in this contest with much zest, saying many prayers and singing many refrains. They don't often play cards.

For musical instruments, they make gourd-rattles, and use strings of shells, tortoise shells and antelope or sheep toes, drums, & flageolets. They have drums made of great crockery "ollas" covered with skin & beaten with peculiarly shaped sticks: and for same purpose use hollow logs covered all over with skin. They make great use of these last two kinds in their Harvest dance, in which one bevy of young maidens is kept at work grinding corn for the feast, while others sing and dance.

The Zunis look to be undersized, but have good physical proportions. The expressions of their faces are generally pleasant and good-natured and their muscles are well developed by hard work (for Indians). Neither sex tattoos or disfigures face or body in any way and the amount of paint used in every day life is very small indeed.

Girls are nubile at from 12 to 14.

Both sexes are industrious, before and after marriage. The women do an immense amount of work, within doors and without: they make the pottery and burn it, weave all blankets, girdles and garters, do the cooking and other house work and at odd moments attend to the tiny patches of ground, cultivated within the limits of the town. For this last purpose, they have to pack water on their heads for considerable distances. The men do most of the farm work, and the more onerous duties involved in the care of their herds, of ponies & flocks of sheep. They also provide most of the fire-wood, dig and repair the irrigating canals &c.

Courtship is much like that of other Indians, but if a suitor enter the house of his sweet-heart and she don't ask him to sit down, he must at once go out.

The gentler sex is of considerable consequence among the Zunis. Parents are *not* paid for their daughters and girls are free to marry whom they choose. The Zunis have but *one* wife. They marry a brother's widow. Divorces are easily arranged and almost always by mutual consent, and upon separation from her husband the wife takes away her children and property. They don't mutilate women suspected of adultery. Gentile emblems are inscribed upon their houses and upon their pottery, or rather their pottery is made in shape of the clan patronym.

Thus, I saw toads, owls, rattlesnakes, tortoises, eagles, deer and other marks upon their ollas and dishes, or dishes made in those forms.

Menstrual lodges are not employed by this tribe and women are not isolated during periods of purgation, but after delivery will remain secluded and abstain from nearly all food for ten (10) days.

The "estufas" are used for religious purposes only, and not for council. They don't use disinfecting or aromatic grasses in their houses. The peaceful nature of the Zunis is typified in the almost complete absence of implements of war of any kind: a few old muzzle-loading, cap and even flint-lock rifles and shot-guns made up the inventory of all the arms of precision I could find in their houses. They have wooden war-clubs, similar to the "macanas" of the Pimas and Maricopas of Arizona. Stone berry-mashers are common, as are sticks for catching field-rats and as follows from the necessities of the case, each house has a liberal provision of stone metates. I have stated elsewhere that these are

arranged in lines, and are graded in fineness from the 1st of coarse vesicular lava occupying the compartments up to the 4th, 5th, or even 8th in fineness, of smooth sandstone on the extreme right.

Pipes are scarcely ever used, but much tobacco is consumed in the form of cigarettes.

Earthen utensils of all kinds are to be found in abundance. The Zunis have attained great dexterity in their fabrication and annually turn out hundreds of pieces which evince great artistic taste. Dishes, basins, bowls, ollas, jars of all sizes, spoons, ladles, cups, pitchers—figures of animals—every design, suggested by consideration of utility, ornament or mere passing fancy, fill their houses and are purchasable at very reasonable prices. To some extent, they manufacture gourd and wooden spoons, and also basket ware—the last of very ordinary quality and inferior in every way to the beautiful work of their more savage neighbors, the Apaches & Navajoes.

The Zunis concede this by purchasing whenever they can the baskets of these two tribes.

Silver and paper money are alike currency among them; they prefer the former. They have no currency of their own; their beads of malachite and sea-shell no doubt were once available for all mercantile purposes and have only within the historic period fallen to the more degraded estate of being held as mere ornaments.

I am pretty certain that their clans are combined in phratries and also think that they have secret and soldier societies.

They have no idols, at least, I could see none. They have a god or spirit for everything. They have hymns, prayers and invocations.

On page 1330⁷ may be seen the picture of an antelope, copied from the wall of one of their houses (inside). The line running down from the animal's mouth and terminating at its heart may be described as a "prayer." It is a pictographic invocation to the "spirit of the antelope" to incline the hearts of the antelope on earth to put themselves in the way of the Zunis that they may kill them for food. I made careful inquiries upon this point and know that I have obtained the correct explanation. Sacrifices are offered to the sun and moon, and the morning star is also worshipped; prayers are said while smoking and at commencement of each meal, a small fragment of bread is thrown in fire.

7. See illustration at page 117.

Their prayers are without number and applicable to every occasion. Some of them, I am told, take *3 hours* to recite: and again others have been so long in use that many of the words in them have dropped out of the common language of every-day life and have an import known only to the priests and the better instructed of what we may call the laity.

Before owning horses, they had no draught animals; now they are well mounted. Their saddles and bridles are of home manufacture and often richly mounted with solid silver. The flat, Turkish stirrup is the one they employ. Their ponies are of a good average in the qualities of beauty, bottom, nerve and speed. Their saddles, bridles, blankets, & silver work are closely alike to those of the Navajoes. . .

To sum up my account of this little visit, I will say that the Zunis are officially estimated at about 1700, all told; they answer to the name of Zunis, but call themselves Ah'si-vich, which has a striking resemblance to the name Si-Vich, of the tribe living in the grand canyon of the Colorado, near the mouth of Cataract creek, Arizona T'y.

The Zunis are firm believers in witchcraft and will not allow owl feathers to be burned near their corn fields from fear of drought to their growing crops. The rattlesnake is said to be held in high esteem among them and never killed unnecessarily; but this I doubt.

The noises in the village are fearful; imagine a congregation of jackasses, quarrelsome dogs, and chickens, bleating lambs & kids, shrill voiced eagles, gobbling turkeys, screaming children and women mourning for the two dead relatives whose burial has been described; incite all these, each according to its kind and degree, to make all the noise in its power and a just, but still not altogether adequate conception of the hubbub may be attained. As with the turmoil, so with the effluvia; the place is never policed and I am not going one jot beyond the limits of strict verity when I characterize Zuni as a Babel of noise and a Cologne of stinks.

The well of Zuni deserves special mention; it is a *spring*, 15' deep walled in with sandstone rubble masonry, 20 feet high and roofed over with vigas, saplings, brush and earth.

In speaking of the ladders for entering the houses of the Zunis, I should also have referred to the notched poles and stone steps used for the same purpose.

As this was to be my last night in the village, I bade good-bye to Palfrey and also to Dr. and Mrs. Ealy: and returning home, stumbled against the public crier who was bawling out at the top of his voice that Juan Lucero had that afternoon lost \$30.00.

May 21st, 1881. Mr. Graham refused all compensation for his hospitality, and left me only the pleasure of thanking Hathorn and himself to whom as well as to Dr. Cushing, who was at breakfast with us, I bade farewell, leaving many kind messages for Mr. Frank Cushing, whom I was very much disappointed in not being able to see.

Left for our return to Wingate; on the road, picked up an old Zuni⁸ who with hoe on shoulder was plodding his way out to his little "milpa" or corn-field, 3 or four miles up the creek. Like all the older men of the tribe, he spoke a little Spanish and told me that the field he now pointed out was his *own* property. This was another link of evidence to show me that the Zunis are *not* communists, but individual proprietors in the soil. The "farm" in question, was not over an eighth of an acre in extent. So, in Zuni itself, women take care of the little vegetable patches, as personal and not as communal farms. The driver of my buck-board told me that 2 or 3 miles from Zuni, were fine large fields of growing corn and orchards of peach trees.

I feel that my report upon Zuni is at best meagre and unsatisfactory; I had hoped to meet Mr. Frank Cushing, in which case I should have remained at least twice as long, feeling delighted to reflect that each moment spent in his society would be an advantage to me in every way. He has so thoroughly explored the field of Zuni investigation that my little scout therein will appear ridiculously insignificant in contrast; nevertheless, it was to me a personal experience I shall always look back upon as one of the most pleasant of my whole life. At some other time, I hope to be able to return and resume my studies in Zuni and also in the vicinity, especially the ruins of Toyallani, upon the vertical sandstone crags, 1000 feet above the level of the present village. The reports heretofore published upon Zuni are as unsatisfactory as my own; Sitgreaves is notably insufficient, the pictures accompanying it being *burlesques*. Mr. Cushing's

8. Note by Bourke: This old man said that the Zunis called themselves Ah' see-vitch.

monograph will fill the gap and place him where he properly belongs in the world of science, *at the top*.⁹

I have already said that the present situation of the Zuni village did not fulfill in my mind, the requirements of the seven cities of Cibola, visited by Coronado in 1541-2. Franklin tells me that in their traditions the Zunis say that the Spaniards first came from the West; that the other pueblos killed the missionaries who visited *them*, but that the Zunis spared the one who came to them; for which reason the Spaniards destroyed the other villages, but did not harm the Zunis. This story, as given me by Franklin, is evidently a mélange of their story of the first invasion by Coronado in 1541, and the *re-conquest* by Vargas in 1692, after the general revolt of the Indians in 1680. At *that* time, the Spaniards did destroy many villages, the fugitives taking refuge among the Navajoes to the West. When the Spaniards approached Zuni, says Franklin, a trumpeter advanced and sounded a parley; to his astonishment, a native shouted to him in his own Castilian! The terrified soldier, satisfied that he was in the direct presence of the dread enemy of souls, fled precipately back to the main body of his countrymen, to whom he related what he had heard & seen.

The Commander drew near the foot of the sandstone mesa, near the summit of which stood, in Indian garb, the man who had caused such terror to the trumpeter. In his hand he held a piece of white buckskin which he first waved in the air and then, wrapping it up in a large stone, threw in the direction of the Spaniards. It proved to be a statement, written with charcoal, and to the effect that he was and had been for some years a prisoner among the Zunis and had almost forgotten his own language. His release was effected without delay and the Zunis coming down from the high mesa, which must have been Toyalani (upon summit of which are great ruins) built their present town.¹⁰

In the evening called upon Gen'l and Mrs. Bradley and upon Dr. and Mrs. Matthews,¹¹ who showed me a fine collec-

9. Later, under date of June 14, Bourke inserted clippings from the Chicago *Times* and the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* (both of that date) and from the Omaha *Herald* of June 15, all contributed by Bourke and praising Cushing and his work at Zuñi.

10. Bourke's note: For a complete outline description of the posts of Forts Wingate and Defiance, see the official work issued from Headquarters, Military Division of the Missouri.

11. Dr. Washington Matthews was born in Ireland in July 1843. Brought to the United States as a child, he grew up in Iowa and in 1864 he received the M.D. degree from the University of that state. After serving the balance of the Civil War he was stationed at various army posts in the west, rising to the rank of major surgeon and

tion of Zuni and Navajo blankets, as well as the series of pictures, illustrations of life among the Zunis, taken by Mr. Frank Cushing. Also a little "olla" found by Mr. Cushing in one of the sacred burial caverns of this region and said by the Zunis to have been placed there by the Maiz, or Corn gens in some of their ceremonies. Dr. Matthews says that the ruin I paced off was built by the Zunis; that since living in it, they have built seven other pueblos, not counting those they now possess and which they have occupied for from 200 to 300 years. (My belief is that the present Zuni dates back to about 1695.) Dr. Matthews went on to say that on the summit of Toyalani moccasin trails are worn deep in the solid sandstone; and also that Frank Cushing had told him the same story about the captive priest which I received from Franklin and that for their kindness to this priest, the Zunis were treated with greater consideration than was accorded to the other pueblos. The clowns of the Zuni dances are called "mud-heads," because they wear masks of earthen ware, covering head, face, neck & shoulders.

There will be some further reference to both Matthews and Cushing in the chapter which follows, but this is a good point at which to comment upon the generous recognition which Bourke always accorded to both of them.

Of the two, Bourke felt more closely drawn to Cushing. Matthews with his medical training and experience was already deeply interested in the study of skeletal material—he was a pioneer in physical anthropology. Yet he and Bourke were on such terms that, when they happened to meet in Washington some years later, they went to a Dime Museum together.

The regard which Bourke and Cushing had for each other is revealed by the record of a conversation between them in a Washington hospital in 1889. By that time, Cushing had done further work in Florida, and in Arizona, but his health had been seriously impaired by his experiences,

not retiring until September 1895. Very early in his army life, Matthews became a student of Indian life and he soon won recognition as an ethnologist of the first rank. But all of his important writings on the Navaho appeared from 1883 to 1902, and therefore they were subsequent to this meeting with Bourke at Fort Wingate. At this time also he had been married only four years. He was to outlive Bourke by nearly ten years.

and his most important writings were still to appear. The *Zuñi Creation Myths* was to be published in 1896—the year of Bourke's death; *Zuñi Folk Tales* in 1901, and *Zuñi Bread-stuff* in 1920.

May 26^h 1889. Sunday. Went with Sara¹² to the Garfield Memorial Hospital to see Mr. and Mrs. Frank H. Cushing; with them, we found Dr. Wortman, Mr. Baxter, and Dr. Yarrow. On the wall of Cushing's room, was a photograph of the picture recently exhibited with high honors (medal) in the Paris salon last year, by Mr. Metcalf, the young artist whom I met with Cushing and Baxter in the Zuni country in 1881. Cushing had a graphophone from which he extracted the words of Zuni, Apache and Navajo dances, to Sara's undisguised horror and astonishment. . . .

May 30^h 1889. Thursday. Decoration Day. Rained fiercely in paroxysms from sun-rise to sunset. Mrs. Bourke and I took some roses, pansies and mignonette from our garden to Mr. and Mrs. Cushing, at the Garfield Hospital. Cushing was in poor spirits, seemed to think that his Boston friends misjudged him for being broken down in health and that his life-work would be ruined: "Bourke," he said, "you must cherish my memory; make the reputation you are surely going to make when your books shall appear, but let the world know of my hard work and say that my method was the correct one in ethnological investigation. You have wonderful intuitions, Bourke: your brain is powerful and logical and your education and experience in ethnological and frontier matters cannot be equalled. When I die, you must take my place. No other can do it. Matthews is the only man to compare to you, but his training has made him narrow. He cares more for skeletons and crania than anything else. But, you, Bourke, are an exceedingly broad man: all appeals to you, beads, shells, bones, nothing escapes you."

—After a pause, he resumed, "I saw in Zuni, just what kind of a man you were and you have come forward just as I expected you surely would. Now, I have a favor to ask of you, one I never asked of mortal man: make mention of me in your books. I'll feel proud to know that my name shall appear in them."

12. Bourke's oldest daughter was then about four years old. Now the wife of Colonel Luther R. James, U. S. A., it is through her courtesy that the present editing of material from her father's notebooks has been made possible.

I said: "Cushing, old man, you're sick, nervous and excitable: you are the first ethnologist in the world to-day and no one can remove you from your pinnacle."

For an understanding of Cushing's reference to his "Boston friends," we turn to Bourke's notes of August, 1887, nearly two years earlier than the above conversation in the Washington hospital:

August 12th, [1887] By Express to Boston, our train lighted by Electricity. Ran over a horse and buggy, containing a man and woman, near Worcester, Mass., killing one of the poor, unfortunate wretches and maiming the other for life. Arrived in Boston, at midnight; went, as usual, to the old-fashioned Parker House, now past its prime, but still possessing an excellent table.

August 13, 1887. Paid my respects to my friend, Francis Parkman, at his residence, Jamaica Plains, Mass. Was received most cordially by himself and sister, a lovely lady, of great personal charms, decided intellectuality, and most winning manners. Mr. Parkman had just returned from a brief voyage to Madrid, Spain, which has been of some benefit to his health . . .

August 14^h 1887 . . . In the afternoon, a delightful home dinner with Dr. and Mrs. Parkman, who afterwards drove me all round Jamaica Plains and home to my hotel. At night, took the train for Malden and hunted up Sylvester Baxter, whose mother and sister I found to be charming people.

August 15^h 1887. Monday. Baxter and myself started for Manchester by the Sea, the train going through Swamscott, Lynn, and Salem. We were gratified to see, coming on our train at Swamscott, Mrs. Goddard, one of the ladies whom I had hoped to see at Mrs. Hemenway's where we were to take dinner.¹³ Mrs. Hemenway is a noble type of the New England woman; frank, keen, honest, true to her convictions, sincere in her friendships, charitable, anxious to do good, without ostentation and with wise discriminations. The possessor of boundless wealth, she dispenses a royal hospital-

13. Mrs. Mary P. T. Hemenway (1820-1894), widow since 1876 of a wealthy Boston merchant, was devoting herself and her large resources to philanthropical and educational interests. She is remembered, for example, as the one chiefly responsible for the preservation of the Old South meeting-house in Boston.

In 1886, she had started the Hemenway Southwestern Archaeological Expedition, which was begun under Cushing and which was one of the reasons why she had invited Bourke to visit her at this time.

ity, is the friend of the poor, the struggling, the down-cast. Her mansion is one of the most beautiful on the New England coast, and is filled with quaint and curious specimens of the world's arts and industries. There were a number of guests at the dinner, but I can remember only our hostess, Mrs. Goddard, Mrs. Armstrong, Mrs. Rogers—the beautiful young grand-daughter of Mrs. Hemenway, and Mr. Baxter.

The menu was simple, but excellently cooked and varied to suit all appetites.

Baxter showed me over the grounds, which are spacious and beautiful, kept in fine condition.

Within pistol-shot of her own house, Mrs. Hemenway has several smaller houses, built for occupancy by her children; one of these "Ramona Villa," so named in compliment to Mrs. H. H. Jackson, the author of the simple and touching tale of California Mission Indian life, "Ramona," was tenanted for many months by Mr. F. H. Cushing, wife and sister-in-law. Mrs. Hemenway, at great personal expense, sent to New Mexico for three of Cushing's Zuni friends, and upon their arrival, employed a stenographer and a typewriter, thus giving every inducement and facility for Cushing to resume and complete his invaluable researches in North American Ethnology.

Her benefactions didn't end here. She sent Cushing, as soon as restored to partial health, down to Arizona, there near Phoenix, on Salt River.

Dinner had scarcely ended, when we were favored with a visit from three most charming women, Mrs. Dana, Mrs. Thorpe and Miss Longfellow, daughters of America's great poet. The conversation naturally turned upon the Indian question,¹⁴ which the ladies discussed in a calm, common sense spirit, influenced by charity, and devoid of sentimentalism . . . The next topic of conversation was the broken down physical condition of Mr. Cushing, whose health had given way, under the strain of work and climate in Arizona. Mrs. Hemenway asked me to name a suitable man, to take charge of Mr. Cushing's work for one or two months? I answered: "nothing easier in the world, Madam. My friend, Dr. Matthews, of the Army, is just the man for the place. As an ethnologist, he has no superior in the world. Cushing, of course, in his special field, is approached by nobody, but if

14. This Indian question was about the Apaches, renegades and scouts, who had been sent in 1886 as prisoners from Arizona to Fort Marion, in St. Augustine, Florida.

anybody can be compared to Cushing, it is Dr. Matthews, whose extended researches among the Navajoes dove-tail in with those made by Cushing among the Zunis. Matthews would gladly go, and as he is a friend of Cushing's, he would be a great help to him, not forgetting too that Cushing needs a medical adviser at this crisis. The Secretary of War will, I am certain, grant permission, and more than that, altho I cannot assure such a thing, he may, if all the facts be laid before him, *order* Matthews to Arizona, and thus not have his pay reduced one half, as it would be were he to go there simply on leave."

"That's capital," said the practical Mrs. Hemenway, "and now, as you and Mr. Baxter have talked over this matter since this morning and know just what is wanted in the case, perhaps you have a telegram ready which you can send at once to Dr. Matthews." This was ready and sent by Baxter from Boston, upon our getting back that evening. "But, Captain Bourke, supposing that Dr. Matthews cannot go or that he cannot remain long enough, can we not induce you to go down there?" "Yes, Madame. I'll be a free agent in two months. Just now, it's impossible, even if Dr. Matthews were out of sight."

The carriage, at this moment, drove up to take us to the depot, Mrs. Goddard, Baxter and myself, bade hasty but cordial farewells and were soon in the Hub, giving me barely time to catch the Fall River Line's last train for New York, by the steamer . . .

As a direct consequence of my conversation with Mrs. Hemenway, Mrs. Goddard and Mr. Baxter, Dr. Washington Matthews, Surgeon, U. S. Army, was ordered by the Secretary of War, Honorable Wm. C. Endicott, to proceed to Phoenix, Arizona, where he will assume charge of Mr. Cushing's work, pending the latter's restoration to health.

(To be continued)

NOTES AND REVIEWS

THE PORTRAIT OF VARGAS. The cut at page 179 is from a painting of Don Diego de Vargas Zapata y Luján. Marqués de la Nava de Barcinas (*sic*) as it was reproduced in the work by José Pérez Balsera, *Laudemos viros gloriosos et parentes nostros in generatione sua* (Madrid, 1931). It was contributed by José Manuel Espinosa to accompany his article.

Three of the quarterings on the coat of arms (in the upper left of the picture) correspond with those shown in the Vargas blazonry in Twitchell, *Story of Old Santa Fé*. The fourth appears to be different but it cannot be deciphered.

In the lower right of the painting is a legend which reads:

The Señor Don Diego de Bargas Zapata Luján Ponze de León, Marqués de la Naba de Barcinas, of the Order of Santiago, Governor, Conqueror, Pacifier and Captain General of New Mexico, lost his life in a campaign to liberate the sacred vessels in the siege of Bernalillo [in the] year of 1704.

This legend and the portrait do not agree. From other sources we know that Vargas was born in Madrid on November 8, 1643, and died at Bernalillo on April 8, 1704, from sickness incurred in a campaign against hostile Apaches in the Sandía mountains. At the latter date, therefore, he was in his sixty-first year, whereas in the portrait he appears to be in his thirties or even younger. We must conclude, therefore, either that the legend was added (c. 1705?) to an earlier painting, or that this portrait was copied from an earlier one.

The original may have been painted in Madrid in the summer of 1672 when Vargas was about to start on his first journey to America. He had then been appointed as a special courier of the king, *Cappitán del Pliego del Aviso*, to

carry dispatches to the viceroy in Mexico City. On January 1, 1673, he wrote to the Council of the Indies asking for more funds, stating that he had been awaiting his dispatches at Cádiz for six months ready to sail and had used up not only his salary but all his private means. The Council sent him two hundred pesos and an order for the payment of his expenses. (A. G. I., Mexico 276, Jan. 1, 1673.)

Little is known of Don Diego for the next fifteen years, but in January, 1679, he was *alcalde mayor* of the pueblo of Teutila, New Spain (A. G. I., Contaduría 776). He had been married before he left Spain, but at some time between 1673 and 1679 he contracted a common law marriage in America, because on his death-bed he declared as his sons, "although not by legitimate wife, Don Juan Manuel de Vargas of the age of twenty-four years, and Don Alonzo de Vargas of the age of twenty-three years, and their sister Doña María Theresa who is with her mother in the city of Mexico of the age of nineteen years." (Twitchell, *Spanish Archives*, I, 304)

In 1688, Vargas was *alcalde mayor* in the Real de Minas de Talpugujua when, on June 18 of that year, he was appointed governor and captain general of New Mexico, and late that year or in 1689 apparently he returned to Spain on family matters. On August 14, 1690, he executed in Madrid a power of attorney, giving to his legal wife control of their property in Spain. It appears further that he had at least one legitimate son in Spain, for in a testament signed in Mexico City on June 1, 1703, he declared that his oldest grandson was to succeed his first-born son as Marqués de la Naba Brazinas. (Twitchell, *op. cit.*, 307-308)

After giving the above power of attorney, Vargas returned immediately to Mexico City, for on October 12, 1690, he there received his first salary payment as governor of New Mexico for five years. (A. G. I., Contaduría 780)

The portrait may have been painted in Madrid in 1690, but Vargas would then have been nearly forty-seven years of age, whereas the portrait shows him as a young man. It

seems more probable, therefore, that the original was painted in 1672 or earlier.—L. B. B.

THE SANSON MAP. No more curious geographical information (or misinformation) will be found in the Heylyn account edited by Mr. Brayer than will be found on the historical map which has been reproduced to accompany that paper. It is from the first edition of Sanson's *L'Amérique en plusieurs cartes* (Paris, 1657). It has been somewhat reduced from its original size (24.2x20.7 cm.), and a few comments may be of help in studying it.

With some amplification, the legend in the cartouche reads: "Audience de Guadalajara, Nouveau Mexique, Californie, [Floride], &c. Par N[icolas] Sanson d'Abbeville, géographe ordinaire du Roy. A Paris, chez P. Mariette, rue Saint Jacques a l'Espérance. Avec privilège pour 20 ans."

The idea that California was an island was to persist for nearly a century more. The confusion of the Rio Grande with the Colorado was corrected some twenty years later on the Coronelli map. (See NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW, II, 323) At the right edge of the map is shown a bit of the Gulf of Mexico, with Florida where Texas is today, and near Pánuco is "S. Iago de los Valles." Any who have traveled by automobile from Laredo to Mexico City probably remember Valles only as one of the places where they bought gas and oil!

The locating of tribal names and place-names in New Mexico is pretty badly mixed up. It is significant of the lack of correct information in Paris in 1657 about this part of the world.—L. B. B.

HANDBOOKS OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL HISTORY. Director Hewett announces the beginning of publication by the School of American Research and University of New Mexico of a series of *Handbooks of Archaeological History*. The first number to go to press is *The Chaco Canyon and Its Monuments*. The announcement states:

"The Hand Books of Archaeological History are designed to extend knowledge of Ancient America by present-

ing in readable form descriptions of important centers of cultural development of the native American race, with ample illustrations of the monuments that mark the wreckage of its achievements. These descriptions are the result of long and arduous exploration and study on the ground, and of thorough sifting and selection from the work of all reliable investigators. They are sufficiently scientific for elementary text books. They are written also for the many travelers and others who are eager for dependable information about our American antiquities but cannot get it from technical tomes or original sources, who care little about technicalities and much for sound, fundamental knowledge. It is pure culture history, for the race made no literary records, and no mortal of any other race witnessed or described its strivings. No other people helped to build these monuments and none helped to destroy them. They were mainly ruins when the first Europeans came. The American Indian builders had their great days and their decline before white men saw them. This is not saying that the latter did not contribute to the final paralysis of the Indian race. That is another story.

"Titles pertaining to the American Southwest listed for early publication are:

1. Archaeological Monuments of the Southwest (a photographic record)
2. The Chaco Canyon and Its Monuments
3. The Cliff Dwellings of Mesa Verde
4. The Cliff Dwellings of the Pajarito Plateau
5. Archaeological History of the Rio Grande Valley
6. Archaeological History of the San Juan Valley
7. Archaeology of Northern Mexico

"The Hand Books will be kept free from technicalities; free as far as possible from the confused nomenclature of southwestern archaeology, and will furnish authentic material in condensed form for use in this vast Science of Man that so many ambitious thinkers are venturing into.

"Every reader of these books is asked to keep in mind certain objectives. First of all: we want to visualize the *human life* that pervaded these places. Ruins are the forsaken abodes in which the human spirit dwelt and actualized itself. But a certain kind of archaeology dehumanizes this material. Man's conduct is hardly a subject for microscopic study. These ancient ruins reveal how groups of human beings have waxed and waned; mark the roads that men have traveled on the way through their world. In them is embedded the imperishable achievements of their hands and brains. What we want in the study of the Science of Man is facts that will aid in the interpretation of human life.

"Secondly, in this matter of interpretation: remember that while imagination is essential in scientific study it has to be rigidly controlled and that the surest guidance to the understanding of the relics of the past is to be found in living communities of the same breed as those whose debris we are excavating. In other words, the surviving Pueblo Indian, not the ethnologist, is the most reliable source of information about Indian culture in the Southwest, ancient or modern. When it comes to a decision between an unsophisticated Indian's idea in such matters and that of the much educated white man who feels that his scientific training is discredited unless he explains most everything, the Indian has it.

"Lastly, do not expect the archaeologist or the National Monuments custodian to be able to explain everything about these ancient ruins. Only a few reliable conclusions have been reached, the most reliable one being that we know very little about them. Happily, the desire to know, and the determination, have survived the discovery of the errors and illusions of the past, and the fascinating quest goes on, the quest that is summed up in the magic word *archaeology*."

—E. L. H.

Jessie Benton Frémont, a Woman who Made History.
By Catherine Coffin Phillips. (San Francisco, printed by John Henry Nash, 1935. 361 pp. ills.)

Of biographies written by women there are many, especially of late years,—of histories worth mentioning, few if any. One wonders why, especially after reading the admirable volume by Catherine Coffin Phillips portraying the life of Jessie Benton Frémont, a volume which is as much and as good a history as it is a biography. In its scope it covers the nineteenth century in the United States. In telling the story of the wife of General John Charles Frémont, the author draws incidentally a picture of the times, their intrigues,—political as well as military,—their manners and their whims, which is charming and convincing.

It is true that as the wife of the noted path-finder and explorer, the first senator from California, the first republican candidate for the presidency, the course of life of Jessie Benton Frémont "was highly dramatic." "She was fitted by temperament and education to adapt herself with grace and fortitude to every phase of Frémont's stormy career." Says the writer in her introduction: "Her part in that drama carried her from Washington and the courts of Europe to the pioneers' California of '49; from a New York mansion to a cabin in a Sierra mining camp; from wealth to poverty."

It must be remembered that Mrs. Frémont was the daughter of United States Senator Thomas H. Benton and therefore to the manor born in official Washington as well as in the pioneer West, between which she shared much of her eventful life. The author makes skillful use of the abundant material at her command, which included not only official documents, newspaper files but also intimate correspondence and personal acquaintance with the subject of her biography. The reader will value the book not only for the insight it gives to events and their motivation during great epochs in United States history but also for its sprightliness of characterizations and the vividly colorful style with which the trivial but nevertheless significant incidents of family life are woven into the tapestry of tremendous events.

To students of New Mexico history there is especial interest in the references to Kit Carson and Lucien Maxwell, to the story of General Frémont's visit to Carson in Taos, to General Frémont's governorship of Arizona and his life at Prescott in early territorial days. The association of Charles F. Lummis with Mrs. Frémont in her later days, the encouragement and help she gave him in the publication of his volumes appertaining to New Mexico, are sidelights worth while recalling. Among the many fine, full-page illustrations is one of Kit Carson, by far the most impressive portrait of this New Mexico pioneer thus far reproduced.

Typographically the volume is a joy, its wide margins, chapter head pieces and initials making it a masterpiece from the press of John Henry Nash of San Francisco.

P. A. F. W.

El consejo real y supremo de las Indias. Por Ernesto Schäfer. (Spain, Universidad de Sevilla, 1935. xviii-434 pp., to appendices, bibliography, index.)

Professor Ernest Schäfer is a German scholar, correspondent of the Spanish Academy of History, delegate in Sevilla of the Ibero-American Institute of Hamburg. A subtitle limits his study of the Council of the Indies to "its history, organization, and administrative labor to the end of the House of Austria." Volume I, here under review, deals with the organization and early history of the Council and of the House of Trade, and was first written in German for publication by the Institute of Hamburg. At the suggestion of Don Juan Tamayo, chief of the Archivo General de Indias, the author was asked to prepare this Spanish edition.

Dr. José María Ots, director of the Center of Studies in the History of America under the University of Seville, in a prefatory note (pp. vii-ix) emphasizes the importance of the subject treated by Dr. Schäfer and outlines the plan for future publications of the Center.

In a brief introduction, the author traces the unfolding of the Spanish colonial system to 1502. Chapter I discusses

the House of Trade (25 pp.), and the second chapter (54 pp.) treats of the Council in the reign of Charles I. The remaining three chapters (c. 80 pp. each) describe the Council in the reign of Philip II, during the first half of the 17th century, and then to the death of the last Hapsburg king in 1700.

The two appendices will be of especial interest to many students, the first being a tabulation of the members and officials of the Council from 1524 to 1700; the second, of the House of Trade from 1503 to 1700. One of the illustrations is a bird's eye view showing the royal palace in Madrid as it was in 1656, with a section of it assigned to the Council of the Indies.

The author hopes, later, to write a second volume describing the work of the Council in colonial administration and, if life and strength are spared him, a third volume carrying the history and functioning of the Council through the times of the Bourbon kings until its final extinction in 1834. Many will join in the hope of Professor Schäfer that this monumental task may be realized.—L. B. B.

Went

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PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

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CONSTITUTION OF THE

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 19, 1929)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

Article 4. *Officers.* The elective officers of the Society shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a corresponding secretary and treasurer, and a recording secretary; and these five officers shall constitute the *Executive Council* with full administrative powers.

Officers shall qualify on January 1st following their election, and shall hold office for the term of two years and until their successors shall have been elected and qualified.

Article 5. Elections. At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. Dues. Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

Article 7. Publications. All publications of the Society and the selection and editing of matter for publication shall be under the direction and control of the Executive Council.

Article 8. Meetings. Monthly meetings of the Society shall be held at the rooms of the Society on the third Tuesday of each month at eight P. M. The Executive Council shall meet at any time upon call of the President or of three of its members.

Article 9. Quorums. Seven members of the Society and three members of the Executive Council, shall constitute quorums.

Article 10. Amendments. Amendments to this constitution shall become operative after being recommended by the Executive Council and approved by two-thirds of the members present and voting at any regular monthly meeting; provided, that notice of the proposed amendment shall have been given at a regular meeting of the Society, at least four weeks prior to the meeting when such proposed amendment is passed upon by the Society.

Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Lansing B. Bloom, State University, Albuquerque, New Mexico.





Historical Society Collections
SANTIAGO TRIUMPHING OVER HIS ENEMIES
(Painting on Elk Skin. See page 247)

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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BOURKE ON THE SOUTHWEST, X

Edited by LANSING B. BLOOM

CHAPTER XVIII

SECOND VISIT TO THE NAVAHO

May 22nd, 1881. Remained at Fort Wingate.

May 23rd, 1881. Drove to Fort Defiance (Navajo Agency) 50 miles. Saw a dead burro on the road: and in cañon, not far from the "haystacks" noticed outcroppings of coal. Came up with a party of three young Mormons with whom I entered into conversation. They told me that they had come down from Salt Lake City to work upon the extension of the Atlantic and Pacific R. R., under contract of J. W. Young, son of the prophet.¹ They were now returning to Utah, and by slow marches expected to reach there within 3 weeks. They told me that their church was actively prosecuting its missionary work among the Indians of Arizona, especially the Navajoes.

At Defiance, met Mr. Packer of the Smithsonian Institute, a bright young gentleman engaged in the taking of the census of the Indian tribes.

My old friend Mr. Leonard presented me with two (2) solid silver pendants, made in the shape of the crescent moon, with the features of a man well delineated. These were obtained from (2) two different Indians and exemplified the worship of the Sun and Moon.

Mr. Packer showed me the gentile organization of the Navajoes, consisting of 42 different clans or bands, among which are the descendants of the Pueblos driven out of Jemez and other villages by the Spaniards under Espejo² in

1. Bourke is referring to Brigham Young who led the Mormon people to Utah. It was the first Joseph Smith who was the "prophet."

2. For Espejo read Vargas. Bourke has the name correctly later in his notes.

1692-1700. A fierce sand storm made the evening almost intolerable notwithstanding the kind attentions of my good friends, Bennett and Leonard.

May 24th, 1881. Mr. Packer left early this morning for Washington.

Lippi, a Navajo squaw living close to the Agency, died last night; and after breakfast, I went over with Colonel Bennett to obtain something of an insight into the mortuary customs of this people. Ordinarily, when a Navajo dies, his friends leave his body in the "hogan" which they pull down over it: on the present occasion, we were told that there was, for some reason to be a funeral which I now attempt to describe.

Near the "hogan" of the dead woman were (3) three naked Navajoes, whose only dress was moccasins and breech-clout. These, with some ceremony were lassoing a pony which they then proceeded to saddle and bridle. The corpse was next rolled up in a number of blankets, those nearest the person being fine and valuable. One of the Indians covered the animal with black and white sheep-skins, upon which the dead body was placed, not a word being spoken all this time, but all necessary communications being by sign.

One of the trio officiated as master of ceremonies and was promptly obeyed by his two subordinates. Fifty paces farther on and in front of another "hogan," were congregated (16) sixteen of the nearest relatives of the dead and around them were scattered all the articles taken from the hogan of the deceased, previous to her death and also the herd of sheep and goats of which she had been owner. I don't attempt to prove my proposition but I am strongly of the opinion that when a Navajo, particularly one who is at all well to do, is about to die, his relatives seize everything in the "hogan" and pile it up outside to be distributed among them upon a fatal termination of his illness. Thus, they evade, without appearing to do so, the old unwritten law of the tribe which prescribes that everything in the "hogan" at time of death, should be left with the dead.

The master of ceremonies moved out first, directing his two assistants by signs; one of these followers led the pony and the other held the corpse by the feet. In passing the little circle of relatives, these latter bowed their heads almost to the ground, a few stifled sobs escaping from the squaws and children to testify the depth of their affliction. The (3) three naked Navajoes, conducting the corpse-laden pony,

moved out toward the South, avoiding all roads and trails and keeping in among the cedar covered hills or winding down the sides of steep arroyos. Behind them followed the dogs belonging to the dead woman, and some distance farther back, Bennett and myself. We trudged along for more than a league over this rough country, but the Navajoes slipped away through one of the countless stony arroyos which cut the flanks of the hills everywhere and we lost their trail completely and had to return to the post without being able to see what ceremonies, if any, attended the final disposition of the remains. Our cook, Francisco, (a full-blooded Navajo) told me that the corpse would be left with all its trappings in a cleft in the rocks and covered with stones and brush; that the pony would be killed by knocking it down with a club and finishing with rocks. Many household utensils are broken in pieces in the "hogan," under the influence, apparently, of the idea governing the Shoshonees and Bannocks under similar circumstances; and at the place of sepulture, saddle blankets and skins are torn to pieces.

Mr. Leonard presented me with a handful of garnets, or pyropes, of rich blood color. They are very frequent in this neighborhood.

Had a little talk with Francisco upon the gentile divisions of his tribe, but failed to make him comprehend what I wanted.

At the store, in the evening, had a talk with Mr. Damon upon the customs of the Navajoes. He said that the corpse followed by us this morning would be laid upon a couch of boughs in a rift in the rocks, all the trappings placed alongside it and the whole covered with stones. The members of the cortège returning, would wend their way to a place designated by a fire and there wash themselves with water from a kettle which kettle would then be broken.

The Navajoes call themselves Tinnéh, (i.e. "men" or "people."). The accent is pretty strong on the last syllable. They have various names for the Apaches: Victoria's band, they call Chís-sé (meaning "wood people" or something of that kind) and the Camp Apache people, the Tzil-gan—"mountain top people." They style the Zunis Nâsh-teshi—"Black-stripe people," from the fact that the manner in which the Zunis "bang" their hair across the forehead make it look like a black band. The Utes are Ná-itzi—the "braided hair people," while the Utes call themselves, so say the Navajoes, Nóta—the "arrow people." The Jicarilla Apaches are

are Bé-jai—"winter people," probably in reference to the snowy peaks overlooking their former range. The Moquis are Ay-a-kinni—"house on top of a high rock" and all the other Pueblos are Kishánni—"big house," excepting those of Jémez who are Máy-dish-kish-di—"mountain coyotes." The Comanches are the Ana-klánni "nearly at war or ready for war."

In the evening called upon Mr. Perkins and wife and Dr. Ebert, the two former teachers, and the last named Physician at the Agency.

May 25th, 1881. (Wednesday.) Met Colonel Bennett, Mr. Damon and "Chi," in accordance with an agreement made yesterday. "Chi" is a full blooded Navajo, of great intelligence, and having a good knowledge of English. Damon has lived among the Navajoes for (14) fourteen years, has a Navajo wife and is intelligently posted in all that relates to them.

They gave me the following as a list of the Navajo "clans" and mention many peculiarities partaking largely of the nature of clan laws as now known; but while these peculiarities fortify their statement that these bands *are* clans in the strictest sense of the term, I am not yet entirely convinced and insert the list here more as a wedge to be used in the future than from any confidence that as yet the obscurity invading this question has been cleared away.

Clans connected by brackets belong to the same phratry. There are no names for the phratries.

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| A. | { | 1. Tut-soni—"Big Water" |
| | | 2. Bi+tahni—"hands folded up in blanket" |
| | | 3. Jaz-klizhni—"Muddy" |
| | | 4. Tzan-diz-kish-ni—"Nick in the rocks" |
| B. | { | 5. Jo-na-gá-ni—"Walk around a man" |
| | | 6. Tzil-kla-ni—"Corner in mountains" |
| | | 7. Tú-a-ha+ni—"Close to water" |
| | | 8. Ta+nezani—"Scattered about, but not far apart" |
| C. | { | 9. Najo-párni—"Hot air rising from ground" |
| | | 10. Á-jinni—"Salt" |
| | | 11. Tzen-gni-ki-ni—"House in Rocks" |
| | | 12. Máy-dish-kish-ni—"Mountain cayotes" |

3. So called because they, the Tzen-gni-ki-ni lived in the cañons where the cliff dwellings are and not because *they* ever built such houses.

4. This band is composed of fugitives from Jemez who fled from Spanish rule many years ago, probably 1692.

- D. { 13. Tu-pá-ni—Edge of water ⁵
 14. Jaltz-zó—Yellow people ⁶
 15. Tzá-yiz-kid-ni—Sage-brush hill
 16. Tû-ba+az-ni-a+zi—Man & woman going with a basket after water ⁷
- E. { 17. Tû-ditchí-ni—Bad Water
 18. Tzin-tzi-ka+dni—Lone or standing tree
 19. Pi-bi-to+dni—deer water or deer spring
 20. At-ôts-ossuni—Ravine or narrow pass in mountains.
- F. { 21. Tû-do-ko+n-zi—Alkali water
 22. Tzeza+indi-yay—Black rock standing up like a wall
 23. Klo+qni—Outsiders ⁸
- G. { 24. Na-néz-tezi—Black stripe ⁹
 25. Tá+p-chi-ni—Red clay around water
- H. { 26. Tzil-na-o-diltl-ni—Crooked mountains
 27. Yo+ó—Beads
 28. Tze-yi-ke-ji—Two rocks close together
 29. Tzá-naha-pildt-ni—High steep crag or precipice
- I. { 30. Clas-chi-i—Redflat or red plain
 31. Kin-klit-chi-ni—Red house ¹⁰
 32. Tzi-ná-zinni—Thick black timber on side of a mountain
 33. Des-chi-ni—Short red stripe
 34. Ka-na-ni—Living arrow
 35. Lô-kad-ni—Canes
- K. { 36. Ná-cay-dinnéje—Mexican people ¹¹
 37. Tô-a-ke-gli-ni—River junction
- L. { 38. Kin-ya+ni—High houses ¹²
 39. Bi-ta+ni—Leaf people ¹³
 40. Tzil+tá+d-ni—Mountain edge

5. The almost complete identity of 7 and 13 was remarked to Chi, but he stuck to it that there were two different clans.

6. Mr. Packer had this down as the Green Valley people, but Chi said that he had made a mistake and that he had given me the correct interpretation.

7. The Navajoes used basket-work canteens coated with pitch.

8. Pueblos, other than those from Jémez and Zuni, who took refuge from Spanish rule—see clans 12, 24, & 31.

9. Zunis who escaped from Spaniards in 1692. See also clans 12, 23, & 31.

10. These are probably another band of Pueblo Refugees.

11. Chi says that this clan is descended from Mexican or Spanish captives.

12. So called because they used to live near an old ruined Pueblo; they *may* have been fugitives from the Pueblos of Nambé or Pojuaque or Picuries.

13. Note the resemblance in sound between 39 and 2.

41. Joz-kah-atzo-ni—Pile of fruit of the Spanish bayonet ¹⁴
42. Jogan-sla+ni—Many "hogans" or *Navajo* houses
43. Kayd-ni—Willows ¹⁵

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

A cedilla placed under a consonant, as k, g, b, or n, indicates that the consonant is "exploded" with a Zulu click, example, Kayd-ni—Willow people.¹⁶

A horizontal bar through the letter j, i.e. j, indicates that it had the sound of that letter in French as in déjeuner.¹⁷

The algebraic sign of addition, affixed to a vowel indicates that the sound of the vowel is prolonged.

Where j has no bar drawn through it, it must be given the Spanish sound of hota or h.

The rule of marriage is that a young man must seek a wife outside his own clan; violations of this rule are becoming very frequent, especially among the "Ganado Mucho" (heap of cattle) band, the Tut-soni, or "Much water" clan (no. 1) and the Josh-klish, or "Muddy" clan, (no. 3) where marriages within the clan are encouraged.

Mr. Leonard says he has known two instances of men marrying their own sisters; in this he is most certainly mistaken and fallen naturally into his error from the fact that the Navajoes call their *cousins* by the title *sister*.

Chi says they have "battle comradeships," but it is so long since they have been at war, that I don't attach much importance to any statements a young man may make about their customs during such periods. There are no old men at the Agency at this time; all are absent and cultivating their little farms.

Where a Navajo woman is about to be confined, a bed of sand is spread in the "hogan," and a rope is attached to one of the rafters. The squaw kneels and pulls upon this rope while at the same moment an assistant of her own sex seizes her around the waist and presses her tightly and downward until delivery. The placenta is generally buried, but sometimes is placed in the upper branches of a tree. If the baby be a girl, it is washed with warm water. *Boys* are most generally dashed with cold water under the belief that

14. 41 and 42 do not belong to any phratry.

15. This clan, "the Willows," is now extinct.

16. These phonetic marks are shown by Bourke in the names in the following clans: (k) nos. 3, 4, 6, 11, 12, 15, 18, 21, 23, 28, 31, 34, 35, 37, 38, 41, 43 (g) nos. 5, 11, 23, 37; (b) nos. 19, 39; (n) no. 34; (t) no. 19.

17. Shown in the names of clans nos. 10 and 28.

such treatment will harden them. In cases of difficult labor, the "medicine man" will be sent for to employ his incantations & rattle-music in the patient's behalf.

They are not addicted to the crime of infanticide; Chi says they never do such a thing; they are always kind to their children & punish them only when necessary. Boys are whipped more frequently than girls. Bastards are treated with as much kindness as other children. The names of children are simply "nick-names" and nearly always vulgar and obscene: these names are superseded by others as the youngsters draw near maturity. No more pleasure is manifested on the birth of boys than over that of girls.

Men are very often called from their occupation, as "black-smith," "saddle maker," "bow-maker," "arrow-maker," "silver-smith," "horse-herder," or something of that kind.

Chi says that their names frequently refer to the clan or tribal divisions, but his explanation was too obscure to be understood.

In case of death of parents, the mother's clan would have first to say about the care of the orphans; if *they* neglected this duty, the father's people would assume it.

In war, they wear bonnets of lion, wild-cat, buck, goat, or lamb skin decorated with the feathers of the eagle and wild turkey, and in rare cases, they use the skin of the head itself, as the head of the lion.

In their dances, they wear their best moccasins and leggings, plaster the legs with white wash, but use no breech-clout, wearing instead a waist and hip-band of black velvet or corduroy. The body is also whitewashed and the neck encircled with a collar of pine leaves. The head & face are completely covered with a buckskin mask, ornamented with two eagle feathers and a crest of horse hair. A sash of coral beads, running from shoulders to hip and bracelets and garlands of braided sweet grass complete the costume.

The breech-clout of the Navajoes is of white calico, reaching to mid thigh in front and about same distance in back. Their drawers are of colored calico made loose and split open from knee downward (*on outside.*)

Leggings of blue yarn sustained at knee by red worsted garters, the former knitted, the latter woven and both of home make. The shirt is of calico, of any color, and worn outside of drawers; at top is a hole large enough for the head to go through. There are no cuffs and there is no seam at

bottom. Some split the garment under the arms. Blankets are worn *a la Indienne*. The dress of women consists of moccasins, leggings, (held up by garters) ; a blanket robe, made of two blankets, sewed together at top of *both* shoulders and from waist to bottom hem. This robe reaches to the knees. When the woman is wealthy, she fastens large, beautiful silver clasps at the shoulder seams.¹⁸ The moccasins of the men are of black, white or red buckskin, and made like our low quarter gaiters, and are fastened on the outside of the instep by buttons of silver, ranging in number from one to six. The sole of raw-hide is slightly concave, so as to give greater protection to the sides of the foot. This moccasin is separate from the legging which is fastened on the outside by a row of silver buttons, running from knee to ankle and held at the knee by garters, already described. The leggings and moccasins of the women are generally of one piece, reaching to the knees and here fastened by garters; a narrow strip of buckskin also winds about the legs to keep the legging tight.

Women and men wear hair alike; that is to say, the part on back of head is gathered in a knot & tied up with a string, while that in front and on sides is worn loose. The men generally, the women never, wind a bandanna band about forehead. This mode of wearing hair and the fashion in drawers are identical with those of the Zunis.

They make a basket of the twigs of the "chiltchin," a sort of willow; these are coated inside and out with the turpentine of the piñon. These baskets or "ollas," (they are used for carrying water) are slung by a band to the heads of the squaws, in the same way that their cradles are carried. These cradles are made precisely like those of the Zunis.

The necklaces of the Navajoes are of silver beads (made by themselves) ; of coral (obtained in former years from the Spaniards) ; of chalchuitl (which they drill with a flint, attached to the end of a stick, revolved between the hands;) and of seashells purchased from the Zunis who bring them from the sea coast in the vicinity of Los Angeles, Cal. (to which point they, the Zunis, formerly made frequent pilgrimages. They do not keep up the practice, altho' Chi says that a party passed through here, Navajo Agency, last year.)

Their bracelets are of silver, copper or brass, worn in any number on both wrists. Finger rings of silver are very

18. This description shows that the costume of Navaho women has changed in comparatively recent times.

much in esteem. Their ear-rings are the same as those of the Zunis. Mentioning the subject of ear-rings to Chi, he said "we don't make imitation ear-rings like the Zunis do. They used to make them of wood and I think they do yet. They will take a small piece of hard wood, cut it square, polish it fine and stain it blue so that you'll be sure to take it for stone." (I am certain that I saw just such earrings as here described while I was in Zuni.) The Navajoes make but one incision in the bottom of the lobe; when they have lost or gambled away their ear-rings, they will insert small round sticks in the holes; but these are simply to keep the holes from closing.

The mode of painting the face is governed entirely by individual fancy: they use red & white clay and vermilion. I have noticed one with a pair of vermilion spectacles cleverly painted around his eyes.¹⁹

Silver plaque of belt of Navajo warrior, dimensions 4 in. by 3 in. Five silver dollars required to make each plaque. When made into a *baldric*, as many as fifteen of these silver plaques will be strung on a leather belt and worn from shoulder to hip.

They provide their children with tops, (made much as our own) bows and arrows, slings and dolls. They don't have stilts. Little girls are fond of making their own dolls of adobe mud baked in the sun and provided with dressed and bark cradles.

Boys and men have a game of arrows: No 1 throws and No. 2 follows suit. If No. 2's arrow touches head to head or feather to feather with No. 1's, No. 2 wins. They also make bets to determine who can shoot farthest or straightest and are very fond of shooting at the tall slim stalk of the soap-weed or amole (a species of *Yucca* common in their country). They have the "odd and even" game of the Shoshones, Bannocks & Zunis, played thus: One side with much ceremony and a great deal of singing and gesticulation will bury four moccasins in the ground, concealing themselves meantime behind a blanket. In one of the moccasins is hidden a small white stone to obtain which is the question at issue. The game with them has one hundred points. They have no "fox and geese" game.

Boys and girls both play "shinny." The ball is of buckskin, stuffed with wool. They are incorrigible gamblers;

19. Bourke here inserted a sketch in water-colors of a silver plaque.

play both varieties of monté, and kan-kan, but do not make cards of horse-hide as the Apaches do. They have dice made of round or square blocks of wood, seven in number, six black and one red: these are shuffled in a basket and thrown out on ground. They have the "Apache billiards" with hoops & staves or lances.

They have the Apache game played with three pieces of wood, shaped like a "half round" file of cottonwood, 5" to 8" long, painted black on the flat side. A flat stone is placed upon the ground and surrounding it and a few inches from it is a ring of forty pebbles. The sticks are thrown vertically against the flat stone and allowed to rebound against a blanket or skin held above. The "count" depends upon whether or not the black or uncoloured side of the sticks turn up; the pebbles serve merely as "counters."

The grand prize of the dandy Navajo buck is his belt; this is of leather completely covered by immense elliptical silver plaques, 4"x3" in the transverse diameter horizontal; each of these contains from \$5 to \$6 silver dollars and the workmanship is very striking.

Of these Chi's belt had seven, besides a little one. He told me he had given the silversmith \$15 for making it, besides the silver. Frequently, a dandy will enter the Agency wearing large silver hoops in his ears, a neck-lace of silver balls the size of small cherries, a baldric and belt as above described, silver buttons down the outside seam of his leggings from knee to ankle and a corresponding amount of barbaric decoration upon his pony's bridle and saddle.

They have rattles of gourds, of deer's toes and sheep's toes; drums made of baskets covered with skin, or of earthen "ollas" covered with goat-skin *shrunk-on*. These drums are beaten with a stick, rounded into a hoop at the end. They have flageolets of cane, whistles of the same; also flageolets of sun-flower stalks and, when obtainable, of old gun barrels. Unlike the Apaches they do *not* make fiddles of the stalk of the century plant or mescal. Their medicine men make "music!" at their festivals, by rubbing two notched sticks violently together.

There are some grounds for believing that they employ *pounded glass* as a poison.

The Navajoes never tattoo, flatten the head or disfigure or deface the body or countenance in any way.

A young man in love with a girl whom he is anxious to marry, mentions the fact to his family, one of whom calls

upon the girl's people and ascertains the value at which they hold her. Poor parents are content with from ten to fifteen sheep or goats or one pony; rich people often demand as many as ten to twelve ponies. Chi expressed with regret the opinion that "gals has riz" lately.

If the presents are agreed upon and satisfactory to both parties, the family of the suitor bring them to that of the bride and return to inform the groom-elect that he can now go claim his wife. Accompanied by members of his own family and attired in his best raiment, he presents himself at the "hogan" of his father-in-law, who points out the spot where a new "hogan" has been constructed for the happy pair. The groom and his retinue enter the new hogan, sit down and await the family of the bride who bring in a feast of boiled or roast mutton and mush and, occasionally, peaches, coffee, and other good things. Good advice is given to bride & groom touching their future relations and behavior toward each other and the two are then seated side by side, to eat out of the same *basket*. The bride pours water upon the hands of the groom and he upon hers; then the feast is eaten and the guests depart, leaving the newly made husband and wife to themselves.

When two men are in love with the same girl, her mother has the deciding voice and in cases of seduction the man must pay for the girl the same as if he had asked for her in marriage.

Girls marry at the age of from 10-14. Families number from 3 to 7 children; Damon has eight. There are a few families in the tribe having from 10-12 children, by *one* wife.

Young girls assist their mothers in all home duties; women cook, clean "hogan," weave blankets and "tilmas," make their own clothes, (the men make *their* own clothes just as the Apache braves do). The men do most of the knitting, but the accomplishment is also shared by the gentler sex. Boys and girls herd the flocks of sheep and goats, the care of which is almost wholly under control of the old women. Shearing is done by all hands and the same rule obtains in gathering the peach crop which duty calls out every man, woman and child able to lend a hand. Women and children dry the fruit after it has been gathered. Such little farming as is possible in the arid country of the Navajoes is performed by the men, that is the hard work of plowing is their special business, but in this, as in everything else,

the women assist. In one word, the Navajoes are mutually helpful in the whole routine of daily labor—and the same rule applies without qualification to the men and women of the Zunis.

The Navajoes are *polygamists* and a man can have as many wives as he pleases, or rather as many as he can purchase and maintain. Each wife lives with her family; this is the rule, and like most rules, is honored just as much in the breach as in the observance. They marry a brother's widow; this privilege may be waived, in which case the woman may marry any man who will pay the necessary presents to her family. If the widow were to elope with another suitor, both he and she can be held for damages by the offended brother-in-law, unless the offender belong to his clan in which case no punishment is awarded, his right to the hand of the widow being regarded as equal to that of the brother-in-law proper.

They do not cut off the nose of a wife suspected of infidelity; the woman is punished by beating. The horrible punishment of nose-cutting is, I am happy to believe, peculiar to the Apaches of Arizona.

Divorces are obtainable at option of either party, children going with the mother unless she waive her rights to their custody. If, at any time, the mother wish to regain her children all the sympathy and influence of the tribe would be enlisted on her side. The mother seems at all times to be allowed to exercise great control over her offspring, especially the girls, whose purchase money, at time of their marriage, is paid to *her*. I am speaking now of the laws and customs of the Navajoes and not of the infractions of those laws which men of wealth and power may commit.

"Chi," throughout the whole conference, showed himself to be a man of far more than ordinary intelligence and knowledge and to him, as well as to Colonel Bennett, Mr. Leonard, and Mr. Ramon my thanks are certainly due for the success attending my labors. Chi made a complaint which strikes me as a very just and well-grounded one. He said: all the Americans tell me I speak their language well; all are glad to have me get along. Here I am trying to make a *libbin'*. I help the Great Father all I can. I was a scout once for General Hatch when he was fighting the Apaches. But the Great Father don't send me any wagon or harness. I've often sent him word that if I could get them I'd soon get rich

hauling freight, farming or carrying my own wool to the store. I wish I could get a wagon."

This afternoon, I had the blankets which I purchased washed by a squaw with water in which was immersed the pounded roots of the "amole" or soap-weed. It took out all the dirt, brightened the colors and preserved the softness and flexibility of the texture which soap would have caused to harden and shrink.

The Navajoes when unable to procure American tobacco, smoke the dried leaves of a small weed, made into cigarettes in a wrapping of corn-husks or the soft silky inner bark of the cedar. This "Navajo tobacco" I am almost sure is the same as the *Bú+n-chi* of the Zunis and the Pueblos of the Rio Grande.

Thursday, May 26th, 1881. The routine of our life at the Agency was broken by two events this morning. One, the presentation of a dozen fresh eggs by Mr. Damon, which eggs were soon disposed of to our great satisfaction; and the other, the startling announcement by Francisco, our Navajo cook, that he was going to leave us this morning to pay a visit to his brother who he had just learned was quite sick and he was afraid some witch "must have been shooting beads into him." (the orthodox Navajo diagnosis of any ailment at all obscure.) This announcement threw us into a great consternation but Francisco was immovable and left at once not even waiting to clean up and put away the dishes. His departure was a source of keen regret, naturally somewhat selfish in its nature but still not entirely devoid of honest regard for Francisco whom we all liked extremely well for his pleasant obliging ways. Francisco said at one of our meals that he remembered me since "way back," in 1870, when he was one of Gen'l Crook's Indian scouts operating against the hostile Apaches.

After leaving Gen'l Crook's command, he returned for a short time to his own people and was then taken as a servant by a Catholic priest with whom he remained a long while. The "padre" taught him how to cook and also imparted a considerable knowledge of Spanish and some little English.

Thus it will be understood very readily how truly sincere was our sorrow at parting with Francisco, because now, as Mr. Leonard pathetically remarked, "we should have to wrastle for our hash, sure enough."

While we are breakfasting, José, the Navajo valet de chambre, makes up our bedrooms, and if we have any soiled

clothing, bundles it off to a Navajo squaw who washes it with "amole."

A visit to the "garden" is next in order: here center the hopes of Col. Bennett and Mr. Leonard for the coming summer and each morning before commencing the business of the day, they walk around to examine the "tender leaves of hope" peeping timidly above the soil and which with no drawbacks will become under the fervent rays of a June sun, prolific vines of cucumber and tomato.

The soil is excellent and the temperature of the day genial enough, but the high altitude makes the nights chilly and retards, if it does not destroy, all vegetation not indigenous to the country. To be sure of raising something, Sheridan, the farmer, has all these young vegetables under glass.

"Chi" and Damon came in again this a. m., with Colonel Bennett, to resume our conversation upon the manners and customs of the Navajoes.

When a young girl announces to her mother that she has arrived at maturity, her mother, assisted by old female relatives, arranges the girl's back hair in a knot, allowing the hair that is on front & sides of head to hang free. Word is sent to the friends of the family who bring in all their beads and silver ornaments with which to deck the young woman and sheep-skins, or *if they can possibly be had*, buffalo robes upon which she is to recline.

A robe is spread upon the floor of the hogan and upon this the girl places herself at full length, face to the floor, while a woman tramps upon her spine and also slaps her shoulders, head, breast and soles of feet. At the same time, the women of the family are busy grinding corn and making other preparations for a feast, to be given on the night of the 4th day.

The young girl all this while is wearing the ornaments loaned her and keeping her hair done up in the manner spoken of. For four days, she is allowed no meat, but on the evening of that day, the "medicine man" enters the "hogan," followed by squads of the family friends and acquaintances. The feast is spread and attacked without delay and singing commences and kept up throughout the night. The next morning, the girl is made to run a race of 300 to 400 yards from the "hogan" and back the same distance. In this exercise, she is followed by some of her own family, generally a younger brother.

This terminates the performance, except that the girl who was not allowed to sleep during the previous night must remain awake until after sun-down.

They have no particular place of honor for visitors to their "hogans," but receive with courtesy all who enter and spread for them couches of sheep-skins. They make great use of "sweat lodges," but have no menstrual lodges and do not compel their women to seclude themselves at any time.

Councils are most frequently held in open air, the climate of their country being exceptionally serene. On special occasions, a large-sized "hogan" is built for the purpose.

They have not been at war since 1864. Have no war-clubs or anything of that kind. Their arrows are inferior and mostly of patterns dating back to the time of Noah's ark, but it must not be lost sight of that in the event of a disturbance with us this powerful band of from 15,000 to 20,000 souls would in a twinkling secure arms from the horde of American and Mexican cut-throats only too glad to sell them weapons of precision in exchange for ponies, fine blankets and silver-ware.

Chi tells me the "old men say" that in former days they used to make hatchets for war and other purposes of a hard, black stone like flint (evidently obsidian). None of these can now be found in the tribe. Neither can one any longer see shields among them, altho' they were in use up to the year 1868. War bonnets also are out of use. These, from descriptions given me, must have been something like those of the Apaches.

Their bows are of white-cedar, covered with a backing of sinew, and are — ft. long, with arrows tipped with iron or flint barbs, generally the former. The bow string is of deer, cow or horse sinew; the quiver of lion, goat, calf, or beaver skin. Wrist guards are of leather and very often of *silver*. Chi says that "long ago," to poison their arrows they dipped their tips in the juice of a little wood, resembling the sun flower; the practice has long been out of use. (They still use powdered glass as a poison). Their only stone implements, at this date, are "metates," berry mashers and stones for pounding "green" skins.

They do not make nets, but catch rabbits with forked sticks. When the rabbit runs into a hole, they thrust it in after him and twist it about until it catches in his fur and then they drag him forth. They make a baited trap for field rats; this is simply a heavy stone resting upon a slender stick

to which is attached the bait. The whole thing is placed in the trail made by the rat in going and returning from his hole and the moment he nibbles he is crushed under the weight of the rock.

They make reatas of twisted goat and buck-skin and, rarely, of hair; those of goat-skin are most highly esteemed.

They very seldom smoke pipes, preferring cigarettes of corn-husks: but pipes can occasionally be found among them, made of baked clay shaped like our cigar-holders and about the same size. Chi said he had one somewhere which he would try to hunt up for me; his wife found it while rummaging around an old ruin. (cliff-dwelling).

Their tobacco bags are of buckskin and muslin, made plain; I have also seen a number of very gorgeous affairs of silver, one of which I tried in vain to purchase.

Their spoons and dippers are made of cottonwood "knots" and also of gourds. Their pottery is crude and consists simply of a few water jugs and flat plates. They make canteens and pitchers of basketware, coated inside & out with piñon resin, and a flat basket of black and white osier or willow twigs almost identical in form and design with the same article manufactured by their brothers, the Apaches.

They know how to obtain fire by rubbing sticks together; they sit on one, which has a round hold bored in its extremity into which they insert another and smaller stick which is held vertical and rolled between the hands. In the hole between the two sticks, they put a pinch of fine sand and over the hole, a little punk, dried grass or horse manure.

They eat peaches, josk-ká+n (the fruit of the Spanish bayonet), prickly pear, piñon nuts, acorns, grass seeds, pumpkin and watermelon (seeds as well as fruit), sun-flower seeds, (parched and ground) a variety of wild parsnip, the wild potato, mescal (obtained in trade from the Apaches and called No+tá), choke cherries, wild plums and the inner bark of the pine. Don't eat grass-hoppers, crickets, or red ants. They plant corn, wheat, beans, potatoes (a few), chile, melons, squashes, peaches (their principal orchards are in the Cañon de Chelle, 30 m. N. W. of Defiance), and sun-flowers (tho' not nearly to same extent as do the Moquis.) Both Damon and Chi say they eat a white clay, found in numerous places on the Reservation. This they sprinkle freely over the wild potato, the acidity of which it corrects and perhaps it would be safer to say that this earth is taken more as a *condiment* than as an article of diet.

They eat deer and antelope; don't eat bear, have eaten it in time of war and great scarcity, but don't touch it when other food can be had. Don't eat dogs, fish of any kind, lizards or snakes. Are very fond of the flesh of the porcupine. Eat wild turkeys, mules, horses, donkeys, sheep, goats and horned cattle. They have large herds of ponies, flocks of sheep, herds of goats, some 500 horned cattle, and a number of mules and donkeys. They don't seem to care much for chickens or hogs. The wilder Navajoes don't eat eggs; those who have been near the Agency do. They use the milk of sheep & goats which is very rich. Their bread is of three varieties, as among Zunis; their meat is boiled or roasted. Among the Navajoes, Zunis and all Pueblo Indians, the traveller can count with certainty upon finding a great deal of mutton tallow in every dish offered for his acceptance; this to many palates is a disagreeable addition especially in bread.

The buckskin of the Navajoes is stained black or red. Men often wear knee-breeches of buckskin. They don't make use of porcupine quills or elk teeth, and use only a small amount of bead-work in their decorations; this, for the simple reason, that these articles are very hard to get. They do use, as stated elsewhere, coral and chalchuitl beads for necklaces and also some of the large varied blue & white beads of the traders. Silver is the great ornamentation and their skill in making it is worthy of high praise.

Their blankets and woolen goods are firmly woven, generally elegant in design and, when we regard the meager means at their disposal, marvels of industrial achievements. Their looms are the rudest mechanical appliances, nearly always out of doors and yet the Navajo blanket will at any time compare with the finished productions of the mills of San Francisco, Minneapolis or Philadelphia. The very best of the Navajo blankets sell readily at \$75 and \$80; the second grades command \$30-\$40 and a third class may be had at from \$10-\$15 each.

Our silver coin is their money, but to their chalchuitl necklaces and beads and silver ornaments a negotiable value is always attached. They dislike to part with these unless under great pecuniary distress and even then prefer to place them in *pawn* with the trader. Mr. Leonard tells me that the pledges are always redeemed.

Their form of Government is an ochlochracy; all the tribe assists at their general councils, women being allowed

to speak as well as the men. Each clan selects its own leaders.

Damon and Chi say that they have secret societies in charge of their various dances notably of the Josh-ká+n dance, but nothing definite or satisfactory could be obtained concerning them as might be expected.

They have women who make prostitution a business; "alt-chilt-ni," i. e., "reckless women." They are despised by the mothers of the tribe, but no open ill treatment is visited upon them;—they visit in the different "hogans" just the same as if they were virtuous women. After leading immoral lives for a number of years, they often settle down to married life, without any reference to their former degradation being made. (The Apaches have the same class of abandoned women called in their language Pa-jáni.) Seduction and adultery have already been spoken of, and from all that I have stated, it may be seen that the marriage relation is, at best, a loose one.

Murder may be compounded by payment of ponies and goods to the clan of the murdered man, the clan of the murderer assisting him with contributions. Accidental homicide must be expiated in same manner as a premeditated crime. This offering will appease the *resentment of the clan*, as it frequently, tho' not always, does that of the family of the victim.

The great trouble to the average Navajo mind, is the fear of maleficent witches who shoot beads, stones, peach-pits and horse-hairs into the bodies of people they don't like. A witch, upon being discovered, is put to death as speedily and as unceremoniously as possible.

I couldn't ascertain much about their war customs, as they have not been at war with any people or tribe during present generation, that is to say not since 1864. Chi says that they sometimes scalp and sometimes don't, but always return to their villages to have a scalp dance. This is much the same as the behavior of the Apaches under the same circumstances.

The medicine men use gourd-rattles and chant around couch of patient and also suck out the beads, horsehair and little worms which the witch fired into him. Syphilis formerly prevailed among them to a great extent; now there is very little. The treatment consists of fasting for ten days, using no meat of any kind and no food except a little corn-bread. The patient remains in a sweat-lodge nearly all

day, drinking copiously of a hot infusion of certain herbs, the names of which I could not discover. The treatment is said to be highly successful. There is a good deal of syphilitic rheumatism among them, more particularly among the older people. Rheumatism they attribute to the presence of a rock shot into them by witches. Their other diseases are sore eyes, piles, consumption, chills & fever, and small pox (which is much dreaded). They understand making splints. Women often die in child birth and puerperal troubles, tho' rare, are not unknown among them.

Chi says that they pray to the Sun and to the "Woman in the West," (or the "Woman in the Ocean.") The Sun gives them rain. When there is no sign of rain, they sing and pray to the Sun to give them some. When a woman is grinding corn, or cooking, and frequently, when any of the Navajoes, male or female, are eating, a handful of corn-meal is put in the fire as an offering (to *the Sun*, I suppose, J. G. B.). They used to think it was bad medicine to put a knife in the fire, but many will do it now. They will mention the name of their mother-in-law, but won't go into same "hogan" with her and don't look at her. Among themselves, they speak freely of their dead, but will not enter a "hogan" in which any one has died. These "hogans" are, in nearly all cases, destroyed or at least abandoned.

They say that they first obtained horses from the *Utes*: before having horses, they had to carry all their traps on their backs.

At this point in the conference, I obtained from Chi a long account of the origin of the Navajoes, and the relation to the "Woman who lives in the West—in the Ocean"—also their Sun myth. Not to break the continuity of my recital, I have postponed the insertion of these myths for the present.

It is "bad medicine," according to my informant, to tell any of these myths while the lightning is playing around.

I thought this an opportune moment to ask if the Navajoes knew that there were people living away up north, in the cold country, who call themselves "Tin-neh," and who spoke the same language as they did. He replied that he always knew they had one time been the same people with the Apaches and that they still understood the Apaches when they spoke slowly and he also had heard some of the old men tell the story that a long, long time ago a party of Navajoes had gone up N. to trade with other tribes and that they ran across two men who spoke about the same as they

did, only a little bit different; that these men told the Navajoes that they had always heard from *their* old men that they had relatives who had wandered to the South. The Navajoes couldn't account for this at all, but supposed that in the dim past, their Northern relatives had been separated from them by *the fire in the ground*. I questioned Chi about this and learned that once all the rocks in this country were on fire. Whether this refers to some volcanic eruption, such as has thrown up San Francisco Mtn. and the great hardened streams of lava which cross this country in so many places, is something more than I dare say.

The Navajoes *do not* use the bow drill. They make very fair saddles and bridles, the archaic form of the saddle being a couple of leather pads stuffed with wool, and connected by a girth, to which is attached, at suitable points, two leather straps terminating in flat, wooden, Turkish stirrups. They are blacksmiths in a small way, and make rough chains, bits and bridles. A short visit to the school of the half-breed children showed eight to be in attendance, one of these, a full blooded Navajo, blind from birth.

I obtained from Mr. Saint Clair two very fine Navajo rugs for \$9.00.

Entered one of the Navajo "hogans" of which I made careful observations. It had been made by first scooping out earth to a depth of from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 ft. Then half a dozen *forked* pieces of pine or piñon, 12 to 15 ft. long, and 5 in. in diameter were so placed that the forked ends interlaced at top: upon these other branches of piñon & cedars, of nearly all the same dimensions were laid so as to form an enclosure, the whole being rendered wind and rain-proof by a liberal covering of earth. Very often their "hogans" are made of rough stone work. An opening is left at top for the escape of smoke and a smaller one at the side to serve as an entrance. The interior dimensions are a diameter of 18 to 20 ft. and height of $7\frac{1}{2}$ ft. A small banquette of earth runs around the circle. A humbledy-jumbledy pile of sheep-skins, blankets, saddles and bridles also covered the floor of the "hogan," the centre of which was occupied by a very small fire and close to that were a few very crude blacksmith's tools, the "anvil" being an old axe imbedded in a piñon stump.

Close to this house was the "hogan," already dismantled, of the squaw Libby, whose funeral was described in journal of May 24th, 1881.

In front of the hogan which I had entered, an old squaw was intently engaged in making a baby's cradle, of flat cedar slabs, lined with soft, tissue-like bark. Alongside of her, a rude loom with a pretty blanket, not yet more than half finished.

When we entered the hogan, a nice blanket was spread out for us (Mr. St. Clair and myself) to sit down upon and we were invited to partake of the boiled corn and other food the Navajoes were eating; before we could make any motion of acceptance, a stifling cloud of dust and stones tumbling down upon us through the aperture in the roof and a fearful din of snarls and barks and groans and snaps acquainted us with the fact that "Buster" was actively engaged in battle. This gives me an excuse for introducing "Buster," a noble mastive dog of mixed Newfoundland & Saint Bernard blood which, thanks to Mr. Leonard's kindness, had been my comrade & friend in my strolls among the "hogans." A brave and affectionate animal whose society was at all times a great comfort to me when obliged to pass through the packs of miserable curs that answer for dogs among the Navajoes. These curs are noticeably conscientious; as a matter of duty, they attack everything human or canine, black, white, red, yellow or spotted coming within hailing distance of the "hogans." This time, they made a mistake. "Buster," intelligent, affectionate, and conscious of his own powers, paid no heed to the snarls which greeted him, as I passed into the hogan. For a brief moment, the Navajo curs contented themselves with snarls and it would have been well for them had they remained so contented. One of them, younger and rasher than his associates, made a vicious "nab" for one of "Buster's" hind legs. Buster suddenly wakes up! He seems to take the liveliest interest in the proceedings. Rushing among his antagonists, he grabs them with the celerity of lightning, it matters little whether by neck or leg or back—it's all one to a dog of Buster's immense strength, and after a moment's vigorous shaking, throws them through the air as a terrier would a rat.

A swish! and the first cur is landed upon a pile of rocks; a swosh! and a heart-rending ki-yi-yi. and a second cur was sailing like a comet over the head of his predecessor. Thus far, from my place in the "hogan" facing the open entrance, I had noted all of Buster's doings and was greatly tickled at his success but after he had made up his mind to charge upon the enemy and drive them down upon us, through the roof of

the "hogan," I felt compelled to rush out, seize him by the collar and hold him back.

"Bravo! Buster old boy, you have done well, you've spoiled our meal and interfered with the taking of any more ethnological notes for to-day, but you've cleaned out seven of the meanest curs in the whole Navajo nation,— *Time*, three (3) minutes."

Buster trotted home in a very dignified manner, stopping now & then to be petted and evidently much gratified when I told him that if I only had the money, I'd take him over to Constantinople and let him have an inning with the mangy dogs of the followers of the Prophet.

Before returning to the Fort, we strolled into the mouth of the Cañon Bonito, a pretty rock-walled ravine, with tiny stream trickling down its center.

Our dinner this evening was decidedly meagre and we greatly missed "Francisco," whose place has been taken, but by no means filled by another Navajo. We selected a young Navajo buck, who appeared to be the average size, weight &c. His age was apparently 22-24 years. Height 5'9". Weight 140 lbs. Build, slender and sinewy. In expression of countenance, the Navajoes are intelligent, bold, good-natured and shrewd.

Their arrows are of *reed*, tipped with iron, feathered with 3 plumes; plumes and barb fastened to the shaft by sinew: shaft is 15" long and has 3 longitudinal grooves for the escape of blood.

Their dyes are as follows: scarlet from threads unravelled from scarlet cloth; blue, from indigo, bought of the traders. Green, black & yellow from roots found in their own range.

The Navajo bridle has no throat-latch, but is often gorgeous with silver decorations.

Our dinner this evening, was, I need scarcely say, a very melancholy affair; lovely woman's gentle influence, sweet smile, affectionate care and so forth are never so highly appreciated or so sincerely missed as when a mess of bachelors are thrown upon their own resources in the culinary department. We got together a can of currant jelly, a box of sardines, a bottle of tomato catsup, a lot of crackers and a pot of boiled tea and each said in an encouraging tone that affairs weren't so bad after all and that this dinner was good enough for anybody. But we didn't believe our own words

and not a man there but would have been glad to sit down to a good square meal in the Brevoort House.

Friday, May 27th, 1881. Our breakfast is a little bit better than we expected; our new Navajo cook has settled down to business. He makes excellent coffee for which we have an abundance of goat's and sheep's milk, and he also understands how to "raise" bread with salt and water and bakes a very fair specimen of breakfast biscuit, in which, heaven be praised! there is none of that abomination, baking powder.

This is an extremely lovely morning; no dust and not a single fleck in the sky.

Had another conference with "Chi" (Red) and Damon, who gave me some further items concerning the Navajoes. They trade with the Utes on the North, calling all Indians living to the North of them Utes; on the west they go as far as Salt Lake, Utah, and San Bernardino, Cal., while on the East they visit the Rio Grande Pueblos. When at war, they used to run down to the borders of Chihuahua, to steal horses and cattle. (I myself know of them going as far North as Snake creek, Wyoming, and West to Camp Hualpai, Arizona—in the first named place to sell blankets; in the last to steal horses.)

Chi brought me some of the earth eaten by the Navajoes to take away the rank taste of the wild potato. It is a whitish clay, and is not disagreeable either in smell or taste.

Mr. Damon lent me his saddle pony for a ride through Bonito Cañon, which after I had fairly entered, showed itself to be a wonderful cleft in a beetling crag of sandstone, walling in the cañon on both sides. In length it can't be over a mile, in width it is not quite 75 yards, while its measured height is said to be 600 feet. In those places can still plainly be traced the lines of breastworks, laid out by the troops under Canby and Carson during the war with this tribe (Navajoes.)

At noon, I questioned Chi very closely about the "sign language." I explained to him with great care what the "Sign language" was, what tribes used it &c., but he insisted that his people never employed it. Then I asked him what he would do if he were to meet a strange Indian whose language he didn't understand, and from whom he wished to obtain a drink of water. Chi promptly made the sign for a drink, exactly as a plains Indian would have done; so, too, when I asked how he would invite the stranger to trade with him,

he very promptly moved his forefingers past each other in the form of an X. So far, so good; he broke down completely when I inquired the signs for "horse," "road," "tired," "sleep," and "tomorrow." These were incomprehensible to Chi, who admitted that he was making up the signs I asked for, and that he was trying to see how he should get along if he were to run upon such a stranger as I had described.

He was very much astonished when I told him of our campaign against the Sioux and Cheyennes, (1876-1877) of the Custer Massacre, and especially of the little band of Crow Indians sent out by General Terry to open up communication with Gen'l Crook. How they reached our camp and delivered their dispatches; how they were unable to comprehend a word of our language or of that of the Shoshonee allies who were with us, but how, by means of the "sign language" they were enabled to hold a three hours conversation with General Crook, in which they described every circumstance of Terry's part of the campaign—the massacre of Custer—the arrival of Gibbon & Terry with reinforcements, the rescue of Reno, the march back to the steam-boats on the Yellowstone—everything great or small that Gen'l Crook was anxious to learn.

My opinion of the "sign language" is that it grew up from the necessities and surroundings of the Plains Indians, all of whom depended upon the roving herds of buffalo as a means of subsistence. In following the buffalo, tribal limits would be obliterated and people of different tongues brought into a contact, more or less intimate, and generally amicable, altho' often hostile. Under these circumstances, the "sign language" grew up—because it was a *necessity*. To people living as the Navajoes and Zunis, in well defined territories and deriving their support from the soil or from flocks and herds, the need of commerce with adjoining tribes would be so slight that the necessary language would naturally be left to a chosen class of interpreters—either captives or traders making it an object to speak a number of dialects.

Chi gave a rambling account of the origin of the Utes. A Navajo maiden had a son by her own father; to conceal her disgrace, she abandoned the infant in a prairie-dog hole where a compassionate owl arranged a nest for the little castaway and supplied it with food. Coming to man's estate, the child hunted up his tribe and made himself known. He was received by everybody with kindness, including his

unnatural mother, but in a few days he became involved in a quarrel with a young man whom he killed. A party from the tribe pursued him all day toward the N. but at night-fall discovered that the tracks on the trail had been increased by those of two other persons—a man and a woman, or as Chi expresses it, “he had made a man and a woman.” The next night 5 tracks were found or “he had made two more.” The 3rd night, 2 more and the 4th night, the tracks numbered 9 and the pursuers, fearing to encounter so large a party, returned home. The Utes, after a while, becoming bold, attacked the Navajoes and maintained a predatory warfare with them. Shortly before the Americans came into the country, the two tribes were at peace and intermarriages had taken place between them.

If this tale means anything, it might be taken to indicate that this child of incest, abandoned by his parents, had been taken care of by an Indian named the “Owl”—and that as he grew to manhood, he became the leader of a band of outlaws and refugees, which in course of time, assumed a distinct tribal government. But I don’t think it worthy of any credence at all.

While I was taking down the above, the little blind Navajo boy seen at school yesterday, passed the door singing at top of his voice in excellent English: “Hallelujah! Hallelujah! For Jesus has come.”

Devoted the afternoon to copying and correcting my notes and to taking a very refreshing bath; was interrupted in the latter by an Indian boy’s pounding upon the door and shouting “Chiniago, Chiniago” (Dinner, Dinner), at which meal we were all delighted by a present of excellent fresh bread sent to us with the compliments of Mrs. Perkins, the wife of the schoolmaster.

May 28th, 1881. Saturday. Colonel Bennett and I started for Wingate. On the road, we met a half dozen Navajoes bringing salt from the Salt Springs, 60 m. South of the Agency, a place of resort for Apaches, Navajoes, and Zunis.

We followed the “old” Wingate road for nearly 15 miles and then turning to the S. E., struck across country by an almost unbroken trail to Sheridan, the nearest station, on the A. & P. R. R.

Reached Wingate at 3 P. M.; read my mail and called upon General Bradley and family. Had the great pleasure of meeting Mr. Frank Cushing, at the house of Doctor Mat-

thews; had a long and delightful conversation with him concerning our S. W. Indians and their customs. Showed him my list of the Zuni clans which he pronounced correct except that two, now extinct or nearly so, were not properly given; these were the "Rattlesnake," of which only one man is now living. (The existence of such a clan Palfrey and I had agreed upon from seeing the snake in high relief upon pottery); and the Agua or Water clan, which Cushing claims is now extinct.

Saturday, May 29th, 1881. Had another conversation with Mr. Cushing after breakfast. I found him to be the most intelligent ethnologist I had ever encountered. Dr. Matthews is also wonderfully well up in his knowledge of Indian manners, customs and languages, his book on the "Hidatosa or Gros Ventres" having been published by the Smithsonian Institute. In the society and conversation of two such men, I could not fail to improve each moment. Passed the rest of the day very pleasantly, writing up my notes; also sent letters to Gen'l Sheridan & to Colonel Ludington.

In the evening, called upon Mr. Hopkins, the post trader and his charming wife; thence to General Bradley's where I met, besides his family, Mr. Cushing, with Patricio, the "governador" of Zuni, Dr. and Mrs. Matthews and Lieut. Chance. Mr. Cushing read us some poetry in the Zuni language, an invocation to the spirit of the antelope, showing rhyme, rhythm and melody. Patricio said that it was a song they sang to the spirit of the Antelope, before starting out on a hunt and as we seemed to be pleased with the words, he would sing the song itself, if we so wished. Need I say that we jumped at the chance and begged Patricio to gratify us. He sang in a sweet voice, a little bit tremulous from nervousness, the invocation or chant, beginning: "May-a-wee-May-a-wee!" (Spirit of the Antelope! Spirit of the Antelope!)

Just before he began his song Mr. Baxter, the correspondent of the Boston Herald and Mr. Metcalfe, an artist of the Staff of Harper's Weekly, entered the little circle and took down notes of all that occurred. They impressed me as very bright young gentlemen. Mr. Baxter's letter to the Boston Herald will be found inserted . . . , and as it contains Patricio's song in full, I deem it unnecessary to copy the words at this point. Mr. Cushing told us that some of the prayers of the Zunis are so old that the words have dropped out of the language of everyday life, or to express it in

another way, I may say that the Zunis are on the verge of having, like the Ancient Egyptians, two languages, the hieratic and the demotic. They have prayers for every occasion, some of their invocations requiring hours for their delivery. He then explained a number of their pictographs to be found in such numbers on the rocks in this region and gave an account of their "scalp dance," which appears to consist of a "song of invitation" from the man who organizes the dance and who holds aloft the scalp and a "song and dance of acquiescence," by those who intend following him upon the war path. In war, they take *no* prisoners, and their warriors are bound by oath to kill their best friend if an enemy to the Zunis.

They do not count "coup," but for each man killed in war, they are allowed to wear on wrist four small sea shells. Patricio had on his arm *twenty* of these, corroborating his statement that in years gone by he had made 5 Navajoes bite the dust.

Cushing says that the Zunis have societies for every thing—dances, festivals &c. He told me that he was having made for me one of the sacred blankets of the Zunis and we have arranged to go together to the Moqui villages, to witness the "rattlesnake dance" which comes off in August;²⁰ thence, to the Grand Cañon of the Colorado and perhaps to the country of the Ava-Supais. Mr. Cushing thinks that the See-vitch of the Grand Cañon have a common origin with the Zunis or Ah-see-vitch. The Zunis themselves admit as much. They called the people of Taos their "older brothers," and say that four hundred years ago the buffalo roamed around Taos. The Zunis still have a sacred "Buffalo" Dance, in which figures a cap, ornamented with buffalo horns, which by long rubbing against sides of cap have been worn so thin that light can be seen through them.

Sunday, May 30th, 1881. Colonel De Courcey overwhelmed me with a present of two fine Navajo rugs, of rare beauty; also some odd looking Zuni pottery.

Packed my baggage and my accumulations of pottery, blankets &c., called upon General Bradley and family, Dr. Matthews and others to say adieu. At the moment of my departure, Colonel Bennett presented to me two Moqui baskets and a Moqui boomerang. One of the baskets had woven

20. Cushing did not make this trip in August with Bourke, but in November, 1881, he helped Bourke in getting data from a Moqui Indian who was living in Zuni. See *SNAKE-DANCE OF THE MOQUIS* (1884), pp. 150, 180-195 *passim*.

in it in colors the "thunderbird" and the "boomerang" was finely made and ornamented with cabalistic characters.²¹

All three of these gifts were very beautiful and striking. Bennett also sent a beautiful and rare Navajo rug to Gen'l Crook, as a mark of his esteem and appreciation.

In the possession of Patricio, the present "gobernador" of Zuni, and of his father, old Pedro Pino, the former governor is a box of very old papers, mostly certificates and testimonials from old Army officers, many of whose names have not been heard in this generation. Of all these officers of remote years before the war, the Zuni chiefs still cherish a vivid recollection and speak in terms of affection. But most especially do they speak of Kendrick, then a Major of Artillery, stationed at old Fort Wingate and since a Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy at the Mil'ty Academy. When *his* name was mentioned they cried out "At-chí-, At-chí—our dear friend who used to live in the little log house! At-chí At-chí!" I may explain here that At-chí, in Zuni, means alas! but it means more than our word—it means Alas!—Goodbye or Farewell to that which I held dear and never shall see again! The Zunis have two words corresponding to our alas!, but at-chí! has the meaning I have here given.

Colonel DeCoursey and Lieut. Emmet drove to the R. R. station with me. There I met a party of Atlantic & Pacific R. R. gentlemen, who kindly invited me to occupy a seat in their special car, and later in the evening made me share in a very acceptable lunch.

May 31st, 1881. Tuesday. Reached Albuquerque at 2:30 in the morning. Every bed in the hotels occupied and, accordingly, I had to walk the platform of the R. R. depot, until 6 a. m., the hour for the arrival of the passenger train from California.

At Lamy Junction, going in to breakfast, I met Rev'd Dr. MacNamara and Bishop Dunlop of the Episcopal Church. At Santa Fé, saw Goodwin, 9th Cav., Woodruff, A. C. S., Cornish, 15th Inf'y, and Ed. Miller, Chief Clerk for Col. Lee, A. Q. M.

Remained two hours in Santa Fé, and then took an ambulance for Española, the terminus of the D. & Rio Grande R. R., 27 m. from Santa Fé and 343 m. from Denver.

21. Bourke's note: *July 30th, 1881.* All the Pueblos N. of Santa Fé, use the "boomerang" the same as the people of Moqui & Zuni do; but they do not *ornament* it. An old Pueblo from San Juan told me "that is because timber is so plenty with us, we can make those *rabbit-clubs* whenever we need them, while at Moqui, there is no wood, so when a man makes a boomerang, it is something valuable to him; something he wants to keep & to have nicely painted.

CHAPTER XIX

THE NORTHERN PUEBLOS

DURING the years of his service in the Northwest (1875 to 1881), Lieutenant Bourke had become very desirous of witnessing the famous Sun Dance of the Sioux Indians. He had received word that the ceremony was to be held during the full moon of June at the Pine Ridge agency in southern Dakota, and he therefore suspended his work in New Mexico in order to attend.

He found, however, that the Indians had changed the date from June 11 to June 20, in order that he might be sure to see the ceremony. This enabled him to run down to Omaha and spend several days working on his Zuñi and Navaho notes, and also to report to General Sheridan at headquarters in Chicago.

After attending the Sun Dance, he returned to his task in New Mexico. His principal objective was to witness and study the Snake Dance of the Moquis late in August, and he decided to use the intervening weeks in visiting the Indian pueblos and Spanish plazas north of Santa Fé.

[*July 8, 1881.*] Took the Union Pacific Express for Santa Fé, New Mexico, via Cheyenne, Wyo., Denver, Colo., and Española, first saying goodbye to all friends at Hd. Qrs., and to several of those in the city of Omaha . . .

July 10th, 1881. Left Denver for Santa Fé by the picturesque line of the Denver and Rio Grande R. R., crossing the Rocky Mountains at the Veta Pass. Arrived at the terminus, Española, N. M. at the convenient hour of eight A. M.; had a very poor breakfast and then started by stage for Santa Fé. Encountered a violent rain and hail storm in the mountains near Pojuaque and was thoroughly drenched before reaching end of my journey. Met Lond, Mix, Goodwin, Emmet, Cornish, Stedman, O'Brien, Taylor and Valois. (O'Brien, 4th Artillery, Inspector General of the District of New Mexico, formerly served with me in Arizona, in 1872-3.)

July 12th, 1881. Met Messers Baxter and Metcalf with whom, and Mr. Murdoch and others, I had first the pleasure of becoming acquainted at the quarters of General Bradley,

at Fort Wingate in May last. These gentlemen are a set of very bright and ambitious young journalists, engaged in writing up the Southwestern part of our country. Mr. Baxter's letters to the *Boston Herald* are especially good. . . .¹ Mr. Metcalf, an artist for *Scribner's* and *Harper's Weekly*, has filled his portfolio with very successful sketches, in oil, water and crayon of the people and places seen on his tour. Called on the Right Reverend Archbishop Lamy, a venerable gentleman, whose finely-shaped head, clean-cut features, clear, bright eyes, discover [him] to be a man of acute intellect and whose gentle smile and modest, courteous manners conceal the great scholar and man of wonderful executive ability he is known to be. Called in the evening at the house of Colonel Lee where I was pleased exceedingly to meet not alone his wife and daughter and niece, Miss Drury, but also General and Mrs. Coggs well and their charming daughter, Miss Susie, and her cousin, Miss Brooks, all of the ladies, bright genial and refined.² The Lees and the Coggs wells being, I may say, very old friends of mine, the evening slipped away in their pleasant society, so that Lieut. Cornish and myself did not withdraw until a late hour.

July 14th, 1881. At work since early morning upon my notes as I had been all yesterday. Lunched with Lieut. O'Brien and dined with the Lees. Mrs. Coggs well showed us some of her jewelry, which was much above the average. One of her seal rings, representing the heads of Caesar and his wife, surrounded by diamonds, was an exquisite specimen of the highest Ancient Art. It had formerly been the property of the 1st Napoleon, from whom it passed through various heirs to Napoleon the 3rd. When the latter was an exile in New York, he was sorely pressed for money and sold this ring and a companion gem to Mrs. Coggs well's father, a banker of wealth and famous for his taste in gems and jewels. Napoleon III, in course of time, ascended the throne of France and opened negotiations with his former patron for a re-purchase of these rings. Mr. Ruggles declined to consider any such proposition, but requested the Emperor to make his choice of either of the rings and accept it as a present with his best wishes. This was done and the ring

1. From the *Santa Fé New Mexican* of June 23, Bourke filled thirteen pages of his notes from an article by Baxter on Cushing and his work at Zuñi which had first appeared in the *Boston Herald*.

2. General Coggs well had retired from active service about ten years before this. See Vol. X, p. 277.

I had the pleasure of examining this evening was the one returned, although Napoleon pleaded hard to be allowed to retain it also, offering a generous equivalent in money or jewels. Mrs. Coggsell's sets of jacinth with diamonds and Arizona rubies with diamonds were exquisitely beautiful and spoke well for the taste and skill of Tiffany's workmen.

July 15th, 1881. Friday. Started for Taos and intermediate Pueblos: weather very warm. Road vacant except an occasional drove of burros, laden with firewood. Above Tesuque, went to a field where a number of Mexicans were threshing wheat by driving a flock of sheep over it: after going through this process, it is winnowed by tossing the mingled chaff and wheat upon wooden forks, called "horquillas," made of "sabina," a species of cedar. The ranchero's wife told me they were raising a small crop of wheat, corn, chile, pumpkins, and melons (trigo, maiz, chile, calabazas, and sandías.)

At Pojuaque, bought an old oil painting, taken from the church in the ruined Pueblo of Pojuaque or Nambé, I couldn't learn which, but have some reason to think the latter. It is a representation upon raw Buffalo hide and in crude style of Santiago, mounted upon a prancing white charger, and carrying in his right hand a lance, from which floats a pennant inscribed with a cross, the same emblem being displayed upon the shield he bears in his left hand. The saint is emerging from the clouds above the heads of the chivalry of Spain who, with renewed courage, are pressing upon the foe, whose bodies strew the ground in heaps.

The design, so far as may be discerned through the ravages of Time, is crude and unfinished with, however, a few faint traces of artistic skill and power. The account the Indians give of it is that it was formerly the altar-piece of one of their churches, Nambé, I think, and that about a century ago, one of their Arch Bishops directed that all pictures of that class (i. e. painted upon Buffalo hide,) should be replaced by more pretentious works upon muslin or canvas. This decree banished to the retirement of a private house, the effort upon which some pious priest had probably concentrated all his artistic skill for weeks, or perhaps months.³

By five in the evening, I was at the old town of Santa Cruz, 25 miles north of Santa Fé, on creek of same name

3. A painting of this type is reproduced from the collections of the Historical Society in Santa Fé.

close to its confluence with the Rio Grande. The house in which I found accommodations for myself, driver and mules—the last, of course, in the stable, was one of those Establishments called in the Rio Grande country, a “Government Station” or “Forage Agency.” The owner was a German, named Becker, married to a Mexican woman and the house and all its belongings showed the blending of two different trains of thought and breeding. My room was quite cozy, 12 to 14 feet cube, with ceiling of large round peeled pine “vigas” covered with boards of same lumber, lain in juxtaposition.

A gaudy Ingrain carpet concealed the floor of mother Earth and added greatly to the “tone” of the chamber which for other embellishment had several not unusually atrocious chromos; a set of cottage furniture, comfortable if not elegant, the bed crammed full of bugs as I afterwards found to my sorrow; a tidy or two; some monstrosities in “fancy work”; and a half dozen pieces of plated ware—a caster, pickle-dish and sugar-bowl being most prominent. What purpose these were intended to serve I couldn’t ascertain. I surmise that with a woman’s instinct for a “bargain,” Mrs. Becker had invested a portion of her husband’s savings in these, to her, useless articles impelled by the laudable motive of spiting some of her neighbors. There was also a very cheap Yankee clock—one of the kind which does wonders so long as it remains in the hands of the glib-tongued vendor, but the moment some unfortunate dupe buys it, costs a small fortune to keep in repair. This occupied a conspicuous place on one of the walls and kept Time too; that is to say it kept its own Time, which, with a sturdy and praiseworthy independence, it preserved distinct from the Sun’s time. The Sun was already sinking in the West, his last fierce rays glinting upon the solitary casement windows, wherein three or four scrawny plants, played a ghastly parody upon vitality in vases of Indian pottery. The flies are making their last effort as nuisances—everything proclaims the close of day, but still the dial of the cheap Connecticut Time-keeper insists upon pointing simply to 5 o’clock. This peculiarity of the clock the oily-tongued bronzed cheeked agent had forgotten to expatiate upon while rattling off the list of its virtues; very likely, at the same time he foisted upon Mrs. Becker the crazy little sewing machine standing in her own room, which is constantly clamoring for repairs.



CHURCH AT SANTA CRUZ, 1881
 "283 years old"—Bourke later added: "This is not so. J. G. B."



THE FORAGE AGENCY IN 1881

The mantel-piece and chimney in the corner are curiosities in *their* way, put in more to show what the Mexican mason could do if called upon than from any real necessity for their existence. The chimney is only a foot wide; the fireplace being only 18" high with a backward flare which reduces its width at the wall to about 3 inches. To consume fuel, the little sticks must be placed vertical; that is if any are ever to be burned, which I am inclined strongly to doubt.⁴

Next to my room is the "living" apartment, much larger than mine but without any window; its floor is carpeted with black and white striped "gerga," the coarse woolen tapestry of the country. For furniture it boasts a half dozen clumsy, unpainted pine chairs, a table to match and the sewing-machine, upon the good and bad points of which I have previously dilated. In its exterior aspect, the "Agency" is a long, low, one-storied mass of dark-red clay, broken at regular intervals by five doors and three windows.

A corral flanks one extremity, and in all its surroundings, if not architecturally striking, a suggestion of comfort and cleanliness, a little bit beyond what one has a right to look for on the Rio Grande attaches to the whole place. Fleas? Well, yes there are fleas; and bed-bugs? And bed-bugs too, both these dear little insects in liberal numbers, but Mr. Becker and his dark-eyed Mexican better half didn't plan their premises for the accommodation of Sybarites. If you don't like what they have provided for you, the train leaves Española every morning to whirl you back to Boston and your couch of crumpled rose-leaves. The rough sketch, on the next page may give you a faint idea of the appearance of one of these "stations," at which many an officer of the Army, now bent and gray, has in the past thirty years, rested his weary limbs and found what, in his youthful imagination passed for home comfort.

When my hostess, Mrs. Becker, summoned me to the supper she had prepared of broiled kid, bread, coffee, fried eggs and green lettuce, I found already seated at the table two priests, Padres Francolon and Medina, the former a Frenchman, the latter a Mexican, both very courteous, pleasant gentlemen and the first named quite intelligent.

They finished their meal in great haste, excusing themselves upon the plea that they had to put on their robes for Divine Service. While I was leisurely finishing my coffee,

4. If it had been January instead of July, Bourke would have been very grateful for this little fireplace,—as he doubtless well knew.

a harsh clanging of bells apprized the faithful that Vespers were about to commence. I hurried over to the church, which is said to be the oldest or to rank among the very oldest in the Territory, being no less than 283 years old.⁵ It is built in much the same style as San Francisco, San Miguel and Guadalupe in Santa Fé: that is to say, the material is adobe, the plan cruciform and the façade flanked by two Bell-towers. Within, there is a choir in a very rickety condition, and a long, narrow nave with a flat roof of peeled pine "vigas" covered with riven planks and dirt; on one side, there is a niche containing life-size statues of our Savior, Blessed Virgin, and one or two Saints; all of them, as might be expected, barbarous in execution.

Facing this niche, is a large wall painting, divided into panels, each devoted to some conventional Roman Catholic picture, which, in spite of the ignorance of the artist, could be recognized. Tallow candles in tin scones, affixed to the white-washed walls lit up the nave and transept with a flicker that in the language of poetry might be styled a "dim religious light," but in the plain, matter of fact language of every day life would be called dim only. Full atonement for the comparative obscurity of the parts of the sacred edifice occupied by the Congregation was made in the illumination of the chancel which blazed in the golden glory of a hundred tallow candles. A dozen or more of cedar branches, souvenirs of last Christmas held to their positions of prominence with a sere and yellow persistence much like that of maidenly wall-flowers in their tenth season.

Upon the floor of flagging and bare earth, a small congregation was devoutly kneeling; the women and children closely shrouded in "tápalos," the men, in most cases, in their shirt-sleeves. Father Francolon, noticing my approach placed a chair for me near the altar; a courtesy to be fully appreciated only by those who have ever assisted at a Mexican mass or Vespers, without a seat or bench upon which to rest at any moment during the long service.

The whole congregation, as I have elsewhere stated, kneels or squats during the mass or Vespers, rising or genuflexioning at appropriate points in the Holy Office. The

5. The first colonists were located in 1598 at the pueblo of San Juan, about seven miles north of Santa Cruz, and soon afterwards they moved to San Gabriel, west across the Rio Grande. Just when the first Spanish settlers located at "Santa Cruz de la Cañada" is not known; but in 1695 (after the reconquest) it was re-established as the "second oldest villa" of New Mexico. It is doubtful if the church described by Bourke was older than the latter date.

influx of Americans into the large towns has brought about the introduction of pews; such an innovation would drive the good people of Santa Cruz wild with superstitious fear that it might be a suggestion from the Evil One himself.

Two guitars and a violin, each of domestic make and each in the last stages of decrepitude furnished the music for a choir of voices, also of domestic manufacture and also in the last stages of decrepitude. To somewhat complicate matters, the "musicians" (I use the term for want of a better,) played different tunes and the singers pitched their voices on different keys. Outside the church-door, a squad of zealous devotees wakened the echoes with a salute fired from old muskets, almost coeval with the Building. I apprehended the reason for this noisy volley-firing, when told that to-night was the Eve of the Feast of Carmel, in former days *the "fiesta"* of this plaza.

Nothing now survives of the solemnity with which it was formerly ushered in, but the simple Vespers here described and the Mass of to-morrow. I drew near the musicians—near enough to get a close look at the guitar, a wonderful achievement in pine wood, held together with big patches of calico. The service over, the sexton rapidly put out the lights by slapping them with his hat. Ridiculous as some of the proceedings were, it was impossible not to be deeply impressed by the fervent and unaffected piety of all the congregation.

Before going to bed, I called upon the priests who showed me a number of religious pictures, all of great age, but of no artistic merit, except one—a copy of some famous Spanish master—which was really beautiful. It was the subject that has drawn forth the power and genius of the greatest painters of the world—The Madonna and Child. Mary, in whose face beamed the purity, tenderness and affection which remain only with those of her sex who remain true to their God; and Jesus, the Infant Saviour, still the gentle, prattling babe, upon whose suffering brow the sins of men, in after years, would place the thorny crown. For this picture, I was told, General Palmer, President of the Denver and Rio Grande R. R., has made a standing offer of \$500. Father Francolon refuses to sell at any figure.

He has also a number of beautiful specimens of pottery from the Pueblo of San Ildefonso and a collection of old musty records of Births, Marriages and Deaths in Santa Cruz, running back to 1726 and even earlier; these he showed

me, to my unrestrained delight. Father Francolon and Father Medina, returned my visit very promptly, and over a jug of lemonade—all I had to offer in the way of hospitality—we ended the evening in agreeable conversation. A very brief nap in the afternoon had prejudiced me bitterly against the bed-bugs in the room I had had reserved for me. My own bundle of blankets was unrolled in the plaza of the village and as I made ready to retire, with the blue canopy of Heaven above me, the grand old towers of the church of Santa Cruz loomed up against a bank of stars.

July 15th, 1881. My idea of sleeping in the public plaza proved to be an excellent one. A refreshing and invigorating sleep rewarded me for the labors of yesterday, and I was saved also from the assaults of bed-bugs, fleas and other vermin upon which I might have counted had I remained in the house. The rising sun threw against the sapphire sky the angles and outlines of the old church, bringing out with fine effect its quaint construction and excellent proportions. The waning moon, in mid sky, shed a pale, wan light that grew fainter and fainter as the orb of day climbed above the horizon:—back of all rose the massive, deep-blue spurs of the Sierra de Chama.

This was the poetry of the situation; but there was also a prosy side. The town butcher had commenced his labors for the day not very far from my bed. A bleating sheep had been tied up by his hind legs to a small post and ere I had more than half-opened my eyes, a convulsive quiver in all its muscles, signalized the fatal stroke dealt by the “carnicero.” He proceeded rapidly and methodically to strip and divide the carcass, a labor prosecuted under difficulties. All the chickens and dogs of the village had hurried to the scene, intent upon securing their share of the offal. The contest for the spoils, commenced in a friendly spirit, soon degenerating into a bitter, vicious row. One of the bolder dogs darted between the stumpy legs of the butcher and almost threw him on his head. Then followed oaths and a fierce pursuit. The butcher followed one detachment of the army; a mistake which cost him most of the offal and entrails, carried off by cunning dogs and chickens which had crept around in his rear.

It is not at all unlikely that just the same scene has been repeated on this plaza every morning for the past two centuries: The custom of his forefathers is good enough for the Mexican butcher of today and will be good enough for his

children unless the cursed Gringos now over-running the country introduce their new-fangled methods and machinery. The head and spine the butcher reserved for himself; the meat, which he cut up in great "gobs," entirely at variance with our ideas of animal dissection, was carried off by old women who sallied out from the different houses, while the scraps of offal and little pools of blood left upon the ground furnished the mangy curs a pretext for another general fight that threw their previous performances completely into the shade.

I couldn't stay long enough to tell which dog "licked." My sympathies were all on the side of an oblique-eyed, brindle bull-pup, the hero of many wars, and I should gladly have remained to chronicle his success had not Mrs. Becker and the cook become importunate in their demands that I should take my place at the breakfast table. They said that today was a very great Festival and that they were anxious to deck themselves in proper attire for mass. My hostess further recommended me to go over to the church right after breakfast and examine the "Chapel of Carmel."

This is a decidedly old part of the building, which, according to papers in the possession of Arch Bishop Lamy, it antedates by some 14 years. Its position is in the Right Hand side of the transept, where it escapes the attention of those who are not advised to be on the lookout for it. It has such an odd and quaint air of antiquity that it is difficult to dispel the illusion you have all of a sudden grown to be 200 years older than you were when you entered. The statue of our Lady of Carmel, once loaded down with jewels of price, is today very poorly equipped, the only ornaments of value being a pair of Mexican gold ear-rings, and a crown of silver,—this last upon the head of the Child.

A former curé of his parish, a depraved French priest, stripped the church of its riches and disposed of them for personal gain. An idea may be formed of the wealth of this chapel in by-gone days, when I repeat what Father Francolon told me, that it was the H. Qrs. of the *cofradía* or confraternity of Carmel, an association of religious persons whose membership aggregated never less than 5000. Each of these upon joining the *cofradía* was pledged to the insignificant yearly subscription of "dos reales," or 25 cents, towards the chapel's maintenance. This petty, but constant, stream of revenue flowed towards the church for gen-

erations; its dimensions swollen by freshets of bequests, which gained in value as the chapel gained in fashion.

Not alone money, but jewels were thus donated. Opulent wretches sought to condone upon their death-beds the short-comings of wicked lives by munificent bequests to so powerful an intercessor as our Lady of Carmel; nor were there lacking others who testified gratitude for recovery from dangerous illness by equal generosity. Among the pious devotees, women, as usual, were most conspicuous; they came in droves to intercede or to praise, and tawdry brooches and breast-pins dangling from the statue's robe of faded gold brocade commemorate their pious fears and pious gratitude.

It cannot be denied that with woman, Religion is the grand, underlying emotion of Life, equalling her Love and conquering her Vanity. Her Religion may be defined as her Love, and her Love as her Religion. At any and all times she will cheerfully surrender her choicest jewels that some favorite shrine may not go unadorned. Man, on the contrary, in *his* religion, never loses sight of *himself*. Where can an instance be found of a man's sacrifice of a gold-watch or seal-ring for any purpose connected with his devotions? When the gorgeous Saratoga Hotel Clerk parts with his diamond solitaire that another temple may be raised to the clouds in God's honor, then the Millenium shall have arrived. A repetition of the musketry firing and bell-hammering of last evening announced the commencement of Divine Service.

There was a much longer concourse than I had seen last evening and the ceremonies were on a grander and more imposing scale.

The singing was just as atrocious and the squeaking fiddles and guitars sounded just as much like a night-mare as they did last night, but the throng of worshippers—Indians and Mexicans—lessened the vibration and at a small distance the strain on the nerves could be borne without great agony.

Our Lady of Carmel was displayed on the altar-steps,—a fearful parody on womanly loveliness, an atrocity in statuary which could only have been perpetrated in *Mexico* in the darkest period of the arts. Her hair hangs, dishevelled, upon her shoulders: a crown of silver, dark with age, is fastened to her head by a soiled silk ribbon tied under the chin; her brocade gown is faded and color-worn, not so much from exposure to Time and the elements as from the kisses of adoring thousands, because call it by what name the

Church may, it *is* adoration which these poor, ignorant *Indians* pay to the Mother of God . . .

Drove through Española to the Pueblo of Santa Clara, six miles below. This is on the bank of the Rio Grande, on a low promontory of no elevation jutting out into the stream. The population numbers only [blank], and is not deserving of any elaborate description, having in mind that already given of the people of Zuni, whom they resemble closely in everything save language. I saw rafters that had beyond a doubt been cut with stone axes, although such an assumption does not carry with it a belief in the antiquity of the present pueblo. It is a well ascertained fact that in repairing or reconstructing their dwellings and villages the Sedentary Indians have incorporated in new structures all the serviceable material saved from the old. There are a few windows glazed with selenite, feather plumes of sacrifice to be buried in their harvest fields, an abundance of down and plumage of eagle and parrot in all the houses and a gentile organization, as in Zuni, while there is also the sacrifice of bread or meal at the hours of eating. The Pueblo has an untidy, slouchy appearance, the streets being dirty and the houses themselves much worn at the corners.

I succeeded in hiring Francisco Naranjo—Ah-co an-ye, and Pablo Tafoya, or Tso-bocu—Nublina—Foy, Indians of this Pueblo as interpreters: afterwards, I joined to these Rafael Vigil or Mahue-huevi—the Kicker, (i. e. in the Kicking game of the Two Little Gods, played with the sticks). It must be borne in mind that the Pueblos on the Rio Grande have been so long under Spanish domination that each and every one of them has received a Castilian name to which he responds and by which he is known in all the ordinary business of life, but each has jealously guarded the tribal name given by his own people, in his own language.

I questioned these men during the day, on matters concerning their people. Their first reluctance to talk upon these subjects was gradually overcome as we became better acquainted and I began to gain their confidence. They told me that they were the one people and spoke the same language with those of San Ildefonso, Tesuque, Nambi, Pojuaque, Santa Clara, San Juan and Tegua, (the last the easternmost pueblo of the Moquis.)⁶

6. All of these pueblos were of the Tewa (Tegua) language. Taos (mentioned below) was of the northern Tiwa (Tigua).

They call their own pueblo, Ca-po. The C being an "exploded consonant."

San Juan is Otque

San Ildefonso is Patwo-que

Tesuque is Tesuque

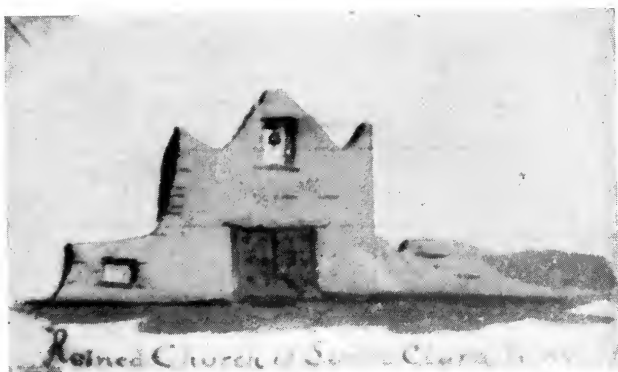
Nambi is Nambi

Po-jua-que is Po-suna-cue

The people of Taos call those of Santa Clara, Tar-weo. The great similarity between the pronunciation of the names given by them to San Ildefonso and Pojuaque led me to believe that there must be a mistake somewhere; repeated questioning, however, failed to shake their statements in the least. To put them in good humor, I not only hired these men as guides, but purchased freely of pottery, baskets and apricots, a fruit that is raised extensively by all the villages south of, and including San Juan. Santa Clara, as a pueblo, presents little in the way of beauty, to attract the eye; it is in a very tumble-down condition, is not at all clean and the houses are nearly all in one story, none of the exceptions being over two. The main part of the village faces upon a "plaza," in the center of which is an "estufa," in poor condition, but from the fresh ashes on the floor I conjecture that it must have recently been in use for purposes of religion or business.

Two or three other buildings, all small, also infringe upon the plan of the plaza. My guides were anxious to show me the ruined church of "Santa Clara" and under their care, I made a brief examination. It is 41 paces from main entrance to chancel, 5 paces wide, 18 ft. high, and lighted by two square, unglazed windows, 8' by 5'. The ceiling is formed of pine "vigas" with a "flooring" of roughly split pine slabs, upon which is laid the earthen roof. In one arm of the transept, were a collection of sacred statues, dolls, crosses and other appurtenances of the church. The altar-piece, although much decayed, is greatly above the average of the church paintings to be found in New Mexico. It is a panel picture, with an ordinary daub of Santiago in the top compartment and a very excellent drawing of Santa Clara in the principal place. The drawing, coloring and expression of countenance are usually good and I don't blame the Indians for being so proud of their Patroness. A confessional and pulpit occupy opposite sides of the nave.

The following list of clans or gentes, given me by the interpreters above named, I give just for what it is worth,



CHURCH AT SANTA CLARA, 1881

without believing it to be exact. The Rio Grande Pueblos have become so shy and so timorous that duplicity and dissimulation are integral features of their character and in all conversations with strangers, especially such as bear upon their religion or their prehistoric customs and their gentile divisions, they maintain either an absolute reserve, or, if that be broken down, take a malicious pleasure in imparting information for no other object than to mislead and confuse. I had prepared myself for such an experience and determined that nothing should cause me to lose patience in the performance of my task; feeling that if at one pueblo I might be completely baffled, at another better fortune might await me and feeling also that after making a commencement, progress would each day become more and more easy. Accordingly I wrote down the list which follows, annexing to each name in Spanish, its Indian and English equivalents:

1 Sol	Pau-towa	Sun
2 Luna	Oxtowa	Moon
3 Estrella	Agoya-towa	Star
4 Maiz Azul	Iunt-owa	Blue Corn
5 Calabaza	Poxtawa	Pumpkin
6 Maiz Blanco	Iuntzi-towa	White Corn
7 Tortuga		Tortoise
7 Agua	Box-towa	Water
8 Nube	Ojua-towa	Cloud
9 Pino	Tze-et-towa	Pine
10 Tierra	Non-towa	Earth
11 Aguila	Ize-towa	Eagle
12 Tejon	Que-a-towa	Badger
13 Oso	Que-towa	Bear
14 Lobo	Iuni-towa	Wolf
15 Venado (Venuda)	Pen-towa	Antelope
16 Palo Amarillo	I-can-towa	Yellow Stick
17 Alamo	Textowa	Cottonwood
18 Bunchi		

Towa is "people," or "clan"

Concerning No. 16, I was unable to find out what plant was meant. The Indians say that this plant is "un palo duro para teñir," "a hard wood to be used in dyeing," a definition corresponding with that given by the Zunis who have the same gens, a fact of which the Santa Clara Indians seemed to be fully aware. They denied having the Guakamayo, Turtle, Buffalo, or Snake gentes, but admitted after some conversation that there were representatives of the "Bunchi-towa," or Tobacco gens among them. Gentes rise up and disappear with comparative rapidity among the savage tribes; casualties destroy them or over population induces a

segmentation of the parent gens into new gentes bearing names not to be found in other tribes and Pueblos of same language and blood; consequently, I was less anxious to obtain an exact nomenclature than I was to demonstrate, at least to my own satisfaction, that the gentile organization still existed in all its pristine vigor among these Pueblos on the Rio Grande.

My guides next took me to see an old eagle which they have had for 30 yrs. There are others in the Pueblo, just as good to the ordinary eye but not so worthy of attention as this one. These eagles are kept for their feathers which, as elsewhere stated, are made into sacrificial plumes to be buried in the harvest fields. Stone implements can still be found in quantity. The Indians will soon have sold the last of those in their possession, together with all that remains among them of prehistoric lance and arrow heads of obsidian.

I have said that in my opinion, some of the old rafters in this village must have been cut with stone axes. I was strengthened in this conviction by the remark of an old man who seeing me examine one critically said that it had been cut by a "hacha de piedra," in the time of "Cuanto hay." Which in intelligible language means that it was cut with a hatchet of stone in the time of "how long since?"—an expression used by the natives to denote a period anterior to anything of which they have record or tradition.

The sun was blazing fiercely down upon the Rio Grande sand which threw it back in our fevered faces, as we slowly jogged along, (going back through Santa Cruz,) to the pueblo of San Juan, 14 or 16 miles from Santa Clara. At this Pueblo, I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Sam'l Eldodt, the store-keeper, who has been with these Indians for more than 13 years, knows their habits well and something of their language. As a certificate of his general intelligence, I will merely say that he speaks fluently English, French, Spanish and German.

I also had the pleasure of meeting Father Geus, the priest stationed at this pueblo for more than 14 years. He, with real courtesy, showed me half a dozen old Spanish registers, containing instructions for the government of priests of the mission.

Supper over, Mr. Eldodt and I entered Padre Geus's garden and wandered at will among the trees and bushes

laden with red ripe currants, black cherries, and luscious apricots.

The situation of San Juan is very much more picturesque than that of Santa Clara. It is built upon a bluff, overlooking a broad expanse of fertile land in a bend of the Rio Grande. A cheery view of smiling harvests, plenteous orchards and glittering streams of water meandering like serpents of silver in broad and deep acequias across the level, green fields, chains the gaze of the observer. The main ditch is a small river in itself, no unworthy competitor of the Rio Grande in the general make up of the landscape. Across the river, puffing a dense cloud of smoke, slowly moved the train of the Denver and Rio Grande R. R., dragging along a Pullman car! So far as the actual contrast went, I might just as well have been seated upon the apex of the Pyramid of Cheops as upon the shaft of the Indian "carreta" of wood, where Eldodt and I were quietly conversing. Wooden shafts wooden axles, wooden wheels, wooden lynch-pins, wooden hounds and wooden tongue and braces; from the condition of civilization or barbarism indicated by this creaky old wagon to the swift-moving train of beauty, power and comfort, climbing the grade on the farther bank of the stream, how wonderful a contrast—how broad the chasm of separation. Without heeding the flight of the hours, we remained in our place until one by one the resplendent gems of the Heavens had shone forth in full beauty and the Milky Way had defined its presence as a broad band of dazzling nebulous light.

Mr. Eldodt conducted me to a very neat, bright-looking bedroom in which I was to pass the night, sharing the accommodations with the fleas and bed-bugs, hereditary lords of the soil. All the Pueblos are full of these pests, to meet which the traveller must be resigned. There is another and worse parasite—the "coroque," or chicken-louse, smaller than the bed-bug, but biting with virulence.⁷ The Indians make houses for their hens—half underground and half above—of adobe, and thus, by keeping the chickens at a distance from human habitations, escape to a considerable extent the ravages of this insect. I avoid a more detailed description to prevent the proprietors of New Jersey watering places from securing bed-bugs of more zeal and courage than those indigenous to their own state. The only point in which New Jersey watering places compete one with another is in the size, number and ferocity of their respective fleas,

7. In New Mexico Spanish, the *coruco*.

mosquitoes and bed-bugs; for the last little animal, New Mexico will for generations to come be able to hold her own with any section of our country.

The antiquity of blue-blooded, high-toned, "gente fina," New Mexican families can always be discovered from the comparative plenty or scarcity of bed-bugs and corcoquis in their residences; in some of the "Sangre azul" houses, a traveller can lose a pint of blood in a night.

July 17th, 1881. The day opened with a blazing sky and intense warmth. Apricots, red currants and cherries, plucked by myself from the trees in the Padre's garden, made, with eggs, milk, bread and coffee, a breakfast as acceptable as it was unexpected.

This being Sunday, the bells clanged from an early hour, summoning the faithful to their devotions. As in Santa Clara yesterday, many of the Indians of San Juan are absent working in their distant fields and orchards, which are scattered up and down in the valley for 3 or 4 miles each way from the Pueblo.

I assisted at mass in the church, a much better structure than that at Santa Clara: it has, to all appearances, been restored quite recently, whitewashed and provided with a new altar-piece. The congregation was mainly of Mexicans, the Indians—as said above—being mostly absent attending to their crops. Yet there was a liberal sprinkling of them also and several snowy-haired old men went through their devotions in an extremely fervent manner. Padre Geux told me last night that many of the Indians were still addicted in a greater or less degree to the superstitions of their ancestors, but that when sick or on their death-beds they never failed to send for him.

Padre Geux made me a present of a page from an old manuscript, which gives an insight into the careful methods of the Spanish missionaries in their administration of the Pueblos.

Often, he suspected, his own ministrations were energetically seconded by the medicine men. Many concessions and privileges had been granted these Indians by successive Popes in the early days of their subjection to the influence of the Church, as without such compromise their conversion would have been impossible. The old people conciliated, the whole force of influence and education was centered upon the proper training of the minds of the children, upon whom the lessons of idolatry had, as yet, made no impression. The

arduous labors of the early Catholic missionaries and the self-negation, pains-taking systematic, tread-mill work it involved can never be appreciated save by those who have gone among the Indians whose conversion they sought to effect. What we see today are the dilapidated ruins of the edifice after years of Mexican anarchy and more than a generation of American neglect have done their worst. Taking their present situation as a starting point, we can, with the aid of historical data, work our way back to a knowledge of what they must have been when their orchards were bending under the weight of fruit, their sheep gambolling upon the adjacent hillsides, and their fields tickled by the hoe, laughing with the harvest. Their churches filled with worshippers, some of their children taught the rudimentary branches, (not many I'll admit but more than at present)—such was the state of the Pueblos of the Rio Grande in the zenith of Spanish dominion in America.

Mass, this morning, was served by a full-blooded Indian, in all the savage regalia of his race. Black, shining hair, combed down in two tresses, tied with red yarn, are on each side of head; a gorgeous, scarlet blanket enveloping his body and shoulders, a necklace of white glass beads, and a pair of slashed yellow leggings and buckskin mocassins covered his lower extremities. At first, I must confess that a sense of the ludicrous appearance of the young man provoked a smile but I soon remembered that our Savior's injunction was: "Go, teach all nations" and I admitted that I now saw that injunction carried out.

The people of San Juan still have an "estufa," in which in summer and winter they teach their young people to dance; this is what Mr. Eldodt says. The time chosen for this instruction corresponds so closely with that of the sacred feasts of their kindred people at Moqui and elsewhere, their "estufa" is as secluded not having a single window of any size—their habit of placing a sentinel on the outside during these times of instruction to warn those within of the approach of strangers—are considerations which combine to arouse suspicions that much of a religious character transpires within these walls with which they don't wish the outside world to become acquainted. When the Pueblos united in revolt against the Spaniards in 1680, the leader of the insurrection was Popé, a San Juan Indian who claimed to be acting under the guidance of three powerful spirits and to be fighting for the restoration of the old religion and espe-

cially of the dance of the Coya-mashe, called by the Spaniards the dance of the Cochino (or pig.)⁸ It is the most plausible supposition in the world that, after the reconquest in 1692-4, the Spaniards should have interdicted all public celebration of heathen festivals in all the Pueblos which acknowledged their sway and have insisted upon an outward observance, at least, of the religious forms of the Catholic Church.

One thing is certain that Vargas compelled all those living on the Rio Grande to wear around their necks the rosaries and crosses to be found among them to this day.

An outward compliance with the requirements of law is never a difficult matter to effect. The eradication of ideas rooted in the traditions of centuries and entwined with all that a nation holds lovable and sacred is beyond the decree of a Council or the order of a military Commander. Unable to practice their ancient rites in public, the Pueblos cling to them in secret, and cling to them all the more tenaciously because the double halo of danger and mystery now surrounded them. The Pueblos became hypocrites, they never became Catholics. Instances without number could possibly be adduced to those among them who sloughed off the exuviae of Paganism; or of others again who modified early teachings by ingrafting upon them the doctrines of the missionaries; but the great bulk of the population remained and today remain, Pagan and Ani-Christian.

There are no eagles to be seen in San Juan; they used to have them, but the last one died three years since.

The old church in the Pueblo of San Juan, depicted on the previous page has a square squatty front of 20 to 25 ft.: is of adobe, and in places of stone, with a brown stucco facing.

Except in the matter of dress, the Spanish customs have been liberally adopted and there has been some intermarriage between the people of this tribe and the Mexicans living near them. They make a coarse article of blanket, good enough for rough everyday work, although not comparable to the fine productions of Navajo looms. Navajo blankets command a ready sale among all the Pueblos on the river who should it seems to me be able to acquire the art for themselves. The "kicking game of the sticks," described under the head of notes upon the Zunis, is known and understood by the Indians of San Juan but never played. Both sexes

8. Apparently Bourke misunderstood the name for the *Kachina* ceremony.

play "shinny." Cards are not much in vogue. I bought an eagle plume just ready to be buried in the harvest field; a question or two quietly put elicited all the information I desired upon this head and demonstrated that heathenism has by no means lost its grip in this Pueblo. The man who sold it said that he had made it to put in his field "to bring rain and good crops."

Parrot feathers are likewise abundant among them, a pretty strong proof that they have now or have had the Parrot clan among them, notwithstanding their vehement denial of the existence either of that or the "Rattlesnake."

San Juan has been so fortunate in its crops and markets that more wealth per capita has flowed into this Pueblo than into almost any other in the Territory: several families, as alluded to previously, have married Mexicans and the result has been an improved style of living more closely resembling that of the best class of Mexican villages than one would imagine. Doors and windows are nearly all new and the latter all glass.

In the afternoon, I purchased a few pieces of pottery of San Juan manufacture, and a wooden "santo," or holy figure, painted in archaic fashion. Visited the Estufa which, like the church, is in much better condition than that of "Santa Clara." I measured it as 24 paces long, 12 paces wide, 9 feet high, rectangular. Floor of hardpacked earth; walls of mud with smooth finish, ceiling of smooth pine "vigas," covered with riven slabs (in juxtaposition) and clay. The entrance is by ladder to the roof and down another to the interior. Ventilation is mainly afforded by the ladderhole; there is another hole at the Western end in the ceiling and a small square aperture of 10" or 12" on a side near the level of floor in East wall for scouts to call through in case of approach of strangers during performance of sacred dances. The ceiling is supported by nine upright posts. In these, as in the wall itself, tin sconces are stuck to hold candles. In the North wall are two chimneys. The altar or hearth for the sacred fire is so built that, facing the fire, you face East. An olla full of water, was imbedded in the floor in the S. E. corner of the Estufa. Not a great interval of time had elapsed since the last big dance; the floor was still strewn with green boughs not wholly withered and with freshly plucked eagle-tail feathers. The West wall was studded with a number of pegs upon which to hang clothes.

Mr. Eldodt assured me that, so far as his information extended, he was not aware of any such tribal segmentation as the gentile organization, whose peculiarities, I dilated upon with great care. This confident denial of so important a fact, coming from a gentleman of Mr. Eldodt's general intelligence and especial acquaintance with this Pueblo staggered me greatly and should have kept me from pursuing investigations to this end were it not partly from a fortuitous circumstance and partly from the familiarity I had with the peculiar secretiveness of the native character which induces both sexes to conceal everything not of every-day routine in its nature. In my promenades around the Pueblo, I made the acquaintance of some five or six old fellows, none of whom answered my purpose until I ran across one, who gave his Mexican name as Santiago Torre; who exhibited a conversational disposition, much to my liking. He was perfectly willing to respond to any questions addressed to him, a willingness not approved by his wife and the other women in the house who checked his garrulity by some phrases in their own language, the purport of which I could not divine. There was nothing now remaining but to win over the women, with whom I began a conversation upon any and every topic, hoping that, once engaged in conversation, something might interest them to the extent of saying more than they first contemplated.

The shrewdness of my judgment proved itself. The conversation at first was commonplace and reserved enough. A question was asked me—where do you come from? What is your business? An officer of the army? Do you wear gold on your clothes like the Captains in Santa Fe?

I answered in the affirmative and that my uniform was at that very moment in my trunk in the ambulance. The sun was broiling hot, its rays pouring down with great fierceness: I patiently endured the intense heat and glare and marched the whole lot,—men, women, and children—to the corral, where they gathered about me in silence until the trunk had been opened and its gaudy contents of a Cavalry Aide de Camp's uniform, with its profusion of metallic buttons, gold and yellow facings and aiguillettes—exposed to view.

Two languages were needed to express the admiration and delight of the weaker sex: "mira! Bonito—ha! qué linda! Válgame Diós!—and other exclamations in Spanish were mingled freely with others just as flattering to the

uniform no doubt in their own idiom. The men contented themselves with a simple grunt or two and the ejaculation, "bueno" or "bonito"! but their admiration, tho' not so frankly avowed, was fully as earnest.

One of the women turning to me asked if I wasn't one of the biggest "soldier captains (soldado capitán) of the Americanos?" I modestly admitted that I was, altho' I told her that there were several others as great as myself.

In going back to his house, I questioned my guide, Santiago Torre, who said his Indian name was Agoya—Estrella or Star, and that he belonged to the Star clan.

After a great deal of manoeuvring and diplomatic palaver to overcome the old woman's scruples and after promising to pay for all information obtained Santiago said "Veo que V. es hombre de experiencia." "I see that you are a man of experience and I will tell you of our families as they are in Indian. Many of our people have adopted the Mexican customs, dress and manners; others have not.

"The Mexicans marry their own cousins, but we don't marry anybody in the same family; we have a good many "families" in San Juan and among our people; we have

1	Estrella	Star
2	Sol	Sun
3	Palo amarillo	Yellow wood
4	Luna	Moon
5	Maiz azul	Blue Corn
6	Sandía	Watermelon
7	Melón	Muskmelon
8	Maiz amarillo	Yellow Corn
9	Maiz blanco	White Corn
10	Calabaza	Squash
11	Aqua	Water
12	Nube	Cloud
13	Pino	Pine
14	Tierra	Earth
15	Alamo	Cottonwoods
16	Aguila	Eagle
17	Lobo	Wolf
18	Cíbola	Buffalo
19	León	Mountain Lion
20	Tejón	Badger
21	Oso	Bear
22	Venado Alazán	Gray Deer, Antelope
24	Culebra	Snake
25	Tortuga	Tortoise
26	Lobo marino	Sea Wolf (?)
27	Bunchi	Tobacco
28	Sierra Alta	High Ridge
	—Ping-towa	

I confess that the long list above given staggered me and aroused suspicions of my informant's good faith. Closer questioning, however, convinced me that if he erred at all it was on the side of trying to tell too much. Santiago was trying to recapitulate all the clans of which he had any knowledge among his people on the Rio Grande. It was almost at the conclusion of my season's labors that I learned of the actual existence of many different corn gentes, the Blue, the White, the Black I'd—formerly organized as a corn phratry—Many of the names given me could, I think, be referred to one stem; thus Sun, Moon and Star, would very likely be found to belong to the Sun genus, and, perhaps, the same identity could be fastened upon others. The Lobo Marino, I could not determine. Santiago, it is fair to remark, was a "willing" witness—a man somewhat past his prime and therefore to be credited with some knowledge of his own people, but deplorably stupid.

He had, according to his own account, been a great traveller in his youthful days and had traded with the "Corta Cabezas" (i. e. "Cut heads") the Goratique (Absarka—Crows?); Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Utes, Shoshones, Nippanos (Lipans), Apaches, Comanches, Kiowas, Moqui, Zuni, Oraybes, (the westernmost Moquis), Pah-Utes, and Paenpais, (the last, I doubt most emphatically). He described the Utes with great minuteness, mentioned their tribal divisions,—Cupotes, Tabuaches, etc.; spoke of Ouray, said that when alive he had been "very rich": spoke also of the Navajoes and Apaches, whom he knew to be one people; said that the Teguas of Moqui were of the same blood and spoke the same language as his own people, from whom they separated generations ago, going from the Rio Grande.

He also claimed to know about the Pacific Ocean, having learned of it from the Zunis, but had never been to it. His people obtained sea-shells from the Zunis and parrot-feathers from them and the people of Isleta who in turn procured them in Sonora, "a long way off." I did not deem it advisable to question him at that moment upon any religious significance attached by his people to sea-shells or parrot-feathers, altho satisfied in my own mind that such religious importance was attached. I preferred to let him talk on in his own way and upon his own topics, believing that what he said under such circumstances would be more trustworthy and more valuable than his responses to direct questions.

He had traded on the Llano Estacado with Comanches and Kiowas, on the Cimarrón and Napeshte (Arkansas river) with Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Goratique, Utes and Shoshonees. At Tierra Amarilla, with Utes and Apaches; at Rio San Juan, with the Navajoes. His people made a few coarse blankets, but nothing so good as those of the Navajoes. They did not use the bow-drill, but knew what it was. The Zunis used it for boring holes in Chalchihuite.

Bought two doll-babies, which I saw made by an old woman and baked in a fire of sheep manure.

Called upon Padre Geux and was invited to try a glass of native brandy and one of native claret; both of strong body, good flavor and delicate bouquet.

The valley of the Rio Grande cannot fail to become, in the next decade or two, one of the finest wine-growing regions of the world. Everything favors such an idea; soil, sun, climate, exposure, etc. The remarks already written about Zuni apply in every detail to San Juan, except that where the women are dressed *a l'Indienne*, they wear an under shirt of calico. The houses are, as a rule, of a single story, of adobe, and there is not one of more than two. Eagles being plentiful in the adjacent ranges, they don't think it necessary to keep any in cages; their last one, I think I said a few pages back, died three years ago. They rank among the first of the Pueblos in cleanliness, good order, industriousness and progressive qualities and fully equal, if they don't surpass the lower order of Mexicans. Swinging cradles, suspended from the rafters, are to be seen in every house.

Late this afternoon a squad of merry-voiced, prattling little boys took their places in the "acequia madre" and had a grand time splashing in the mud and water. A few nickels thrown among them caused a general scramble and diving, ineffective except to stir up mud and sand in the bottom. Slept in the open air tonight, avoiding the heat and discomfort of the stuffy rooms of the Pueblo.

July 18, 1881. Awaked by the first rays of the Sun; paid another visit of rapine to Padre Geux's "huerta" and filled myself with luscious ripe cherries, currants and apricots. Our breakfast, as usual, was simple; boiled fresh eggs, bacon, bread and coffee, reinforced by my plunder from the orchard.

In speaking of the Indians, Padre Geux gave me a remarkable and curious instance of the tenacity with which

they adhered to their native superstitions; he related that Father Gasparri, now in Albuquerque, but formerly of Bernalillo, and attending priest for the Pueblo of Sandía, had suspected for a long time that something was going on which the Indians were anxious to conceal from his knowledge.⁹

After a great deal of quiet observation, he satisfied himself that some of the children knew of the mystery which he determined to clear up by direct inquiry. Their ingenuous answers discovered, to his amazement, that for a period, the exact length of which he never could determine, the Indians had maintained, for purposes of worship, a live rattle-snake, secreted under the altar. "Pero ya se murió, Padre," but he's dead now, Father, said the children.

The Indians of San Juan don't tattoo or disfigure the figure and upon ordinary occasions make but little, if any, use of paint. The women cover the face with corn-meal or flour, in hot weather, just as the Mexicans do. They cut their hair square at level of eyes and again at the level of mouth and tie the back locks in one solid queue, with red yarn.

Their children are taught, at a very early age, to be useful; it is hard to find a little girl so young that she will not have a still younger child strapped to her back or wrapped up in her blanket and perched upon her shoulders. During my present visit, the Indians are very busy making pottery, not for household use alone, but for sale in Santa Fé, as well.

From my present acquaintance with the various Pueblos, I have no hesitancy in expressing the opinion that the pottery of each Pueblo is peculiar to that Pueblo, or, to express the idea with more exactness, each Pueblo has pottery peculiar to itself. A strong family resemblance runs through it all, yet an Indian can in most cases detect at a glance the source from which each piece has been derived, but it would not always be safe to trust the judgment of a white man in this respect because the different Pueblos trade so much with each other that models of any given style are likely to be encountered in almost every one of the villages. These remarks do not strictly apply to the black lustrous pottery which is made by a number of the Pueblos, but after conventional patterns, almost if not absolutely, identical.

9. Father Donato M. Gasparri was one of five Jesuits secured by Archbishop Lamy in Italy in 1867. In New Mexico he served as superior of the Jesuit mission from 1869 to 1876. He died in Albuquerque on December 18, 1882.

The rear wall of the massive old church of San Juan was very badly washed out by the heavy rain-storms of last summer; the Indians, to prevent a recurrence of the damage, built it up with ox-horns. Santiago Torre gave me the benefit of half an hour's "gab," upon the subject of Moctezuma; he called him the father of all the Indians who was now dead but would return after a while to look after all his children. This story can be found among the Pueblos who have had most to do with Americans and Mexicans and among no others.

We left San Juan for the Pueblo of Picurís, ascending the lovely valley with maturing harvests—half a mile in width—many miles in length. Through Plaza Alcalde, Capillita, Villita, and Luceros, small Mexican towns of no importance. Asked the road from a batch of native laborers, mending a ditch; all stopped work to answer our questions and gave us minute directions. This is a charming trait in the character of the Mexican field-hand, one which I admire greatly. No matter how important the work upon which he is engaged he will at any and all times drop it to enter into a conversation with a passerby.

How much his employers may admire this trait, I am not yet in a position to say, but infer that as it is the well-established custom of the country, they must, by this time, have become used to it. Passed through La Joya and on to a reservoir for irrigating a small acreage at a hamlet called "El Ojito." While our team was drinking, I entered one of the squalid little houses. Floor and walls were both of adobe and, excepting the "vigas" and branches, the roof also. There was no furniture, but a feebly blanketed bed. The man of the house very politely offered to show us the shortest road to Picurís which is so seldom travelled now-a-days that it is very easy to go astray. His gracious courtesy was highly appreciated, as it saved us from much annoyance and useless delay. Saw this morning, the usual wooden plows, yoked to the horns of cattle. Kept on in a direction nearly North, for a few miles, the road getting rough and steep. But little travel has come this way for a long time and the road had not yet been repaired where washed out by the storms and freshets of last winter and spring. So difficult was it to trace, that we lost our way and had gone nearly to Embudo (Funnel) when a Mexican driving an ox-team met us and pointed out where we should turn off. These directions were given in a kindly way and

yet the Mexican in his topographical descriptions is so full of "poco mas allá," "poquito retirado," "a la izquierda de vuelta," "cuesta arriba," "la cañada adelante," and other ambiguous terms, that it is no wonder we soon became snarled in the wrong "cañada" and could neither advance nor retreat. The driver unhitched the mules, unshipped the lead bars, fastened them to hind axles with leather straps and then hitching in the "wheelers," gave them to me to lead down the "arroyo" while he guided the wagon-pole. With some little difficulty, we extricated ourselves from our embarrassment and started afresh only to become again and again involved in a net-work of water-worn, timber-choked and "blind arroyos," leading no one knows where. At last we struck a well-defined "carreta" road, with fresh tracks: rapid driving for a few minutes enabled us to overtake the cart whose driver we recognized as the man from whom we had an hour or two ago received such careful directions. He consented to go back with us and point out the road; this, to our intense disgust and amazement, ran right alongside the "arroyo" where we had stalled, but was so water-worn that no one but an inhabitant of the country could have hit upon it. I gave our Mexican friend a small sum of money for his goodness and thanked him most heartily. We had to cross a rather steep ridge (cuchillo); which passed, we entered the little Mexican village of "Ojo Zarco," or Blue Spring. Darkness had come on. There was nothing to be done, but to remain here all night. Anticipating some such trouble, I had ordered the driver to put on an extra sack of grain, and a small bundle of compressed hay for our mules, so that they did not suffer. For ourselves, the driver had his rations of bacon, bread and coffee and in the house where we obtained permission to stay, I found nine fresh eggs,—a feast good enough for a Nabob. The ranchero's wife, with that delicate sympathy with distress which is woman's trait the world over, offered her services to cook our food, remarking in a modest, gentle tone that she thought she could do it better than people who were so tired.

We had our eggs fried with chile, our bacon cut into thin slices and broiled on the embers; aromatic coffee filled the room with the most intoxicating perfume, and one or two other little things were added to the meal which soon had to sustain a combined assault from two voracious appetites.

Our welcome was a cordial one from all the inmates of this house, unless I except a vicious cur which fancied itself to be in some sense a proprietor.

As I was approaching the supper table, a snap at my legs nearly took a piece from one of my knees; the subsequent exercise with rocks and stones added to my appetite and improved the dog's knowledge of music. The owner of this ranch was a man of more than ordinary intelligence. He claimed to know something about the Indians of Picurís, (which Pueblo is less than 12 miles from his house.) He contended stoutly that the Picurís had always been the best friends of the Apaches; had in former generations extensively intermarried with them and still spoke a language with many words of Apache origin.

July 19th, 1881. Tuesday. Slept cold all night, altho under two coarse blankets. The altitude here must be considerable. All day yesterday we were climbing steep hills, upon which the growth of piñon and cedar was evidence of height (elevation.) The formation too was largely granite, altho the "mesas" in the early morning, bounding the valley of the Rio Grande, near San Juan, were of black lava. In the cañon of the Rio Grande, at the mouth of the cañon of Ojo Zarco, is a gold mine. Upon our awakening this morning, the first rays of the sun were gilding with splendor the walls of the humble tenement by which we had been sleeping; the very air was filled with life and glory. Above us the sky of purest hue; at our feet the fields, and bounding the narrow horizon, the long ranges of hills, black with masses of the dark green cedar.

Chickens were walking over and around me; in their eyes I was no doubt only another incumbrance added to the barnyard. While "Jack" was harnessing and hitching the four mules, I rolled up blankets and made my toilet. The latter duty, especially the brushing of my teeth, was witnessed by the whole family,—father, mother and children, including the chickens and the surly dog of last night. I improved the opportunity for becoming better acquainted with my kind-hearted host, who gave his name as José Eulogio Medina. By day-light, Ojo Zarco is a "placita" of respectable dimensions; many houses not visible in the darkness of our arrival at 9 last night, were now peeping out from their seclusion in all sorts of little "rincones" and glades. At its lower extremity, the valley is hemmed in by a cañon of extreme narrowness and steepness, which practically cuts it off from communication with the exterior world. D. José Eulogio courteously piloted us across his fields to the Picurís road, where he bade us goodbye and

good fortune. Crossing a steep and rough little "cuchillo," we descended into a lovely valley, shining like an emerald, a little brook of crystal trickling down the middle. Heaps of loosely piled stones, surmounted by crosses, marking the "Descansos" or places where funeral processions had halted to rest and repeat prayers for the dead; large crosses crowning the knoll-crests for the use of the "Penitentes," would have suggested our proximity to a Mexican settlement, even had there been no chained and picketed hogs or loose-running curs to confirm the impression. The "acequia madre" was soon reached and crossed and we were within the "placeta"—a hamlet of some consequence, containing over 30 houses.

A venerable, white-haired man astride of a diminutive "burro" almost as old as himself greeted me urbanely and inquired "a donde vas, amigo?" (Whither goest, thou, Friend?) "Picurís. What do you raise here?" The Nestor of the place, for such I took him to be, drawled out in the exasperatingly slow nasal twang of the Rio Grande, "Maiz, Trigo, Alberjanas, Habas, frijoles, garbanzas, lenteja, Bunchi, Cebollas, Coriandro, Melones, Calabazas, Ciruelas,—and fair crops of them all (i. e. Corn, Wheat, peas, beans, frijoles,—vetches, lentils, Native Tobacco, Onions, Coriander, Melons, Squash, Plums.)

He (the old gentleman, not the burro,) gave me a leaf of the Bunchi, which I carefully preserved in my note-book for future examination by Dr Forwood (?) or some other friend equally competent. This proceeding he, (the Burro this time, not the old gentleman,) seemed to consider eccentric, not to say idiotic.

The old man being in a communicative vein informed me that I was now in the "placeta" of Las Trampas (the Traps) an old established community, where in former days quite a good deal of business was done in trapping wild animals and selling their furs. The town was now in its decadence, but still "muy bonito" and boasted a church, which few Americans had ever seen. With my permission, he would act as guide to the sacred edifice. My hasty and imperfect sketch will, I am afraid, give a very imperfect idea of the little church which certainly was not lacking in the elements of simple beauty. In a room, to the right of the door, which corresponded to our church vestry, there was a hideous statue, dressed in black, with pallid face and monkish cowl, which held in its hands a bow and arrow drawn in position.



THE BOURKE SKETCH, 1881



SAN LORENZO DE PICURÍS, 1881
(see page 275)

"Es la Muerte" (Death,) whispered my guide in awe-struck tones.¹⁰ I recognized the fact that I had stumbled upon paraphernalia of some little band of Penitentes, those curious religious zealots who, not satisfied with the exactions of Mother Church, seek solace for sorrowing consciences in acts which emulate, if they do not imitate, the conduct of the Flagellantes of the Middle Ages. The Church authorities, to their credit be it said, have exerted themselves to the utmost to repress and eradicate this abnormal development of religious fervor; the Penitentes have either been driven from the larger towns or compelled to organize into little villages, like that in which I now found myself, where ecclesiastical administration was lax or inspection only possible at long and irregular intervals, the Penitentes dominate in the control of their own village church. To go back to Death; the artist had carefully eliminated every trace of beauty from feature or figure, with a result that must have been a gratification to his pride in his own abilities. The statue, thus hooded, armed and painted was seated upon a wooden wagon, something similar to an artillery limber, but made in the crudest way of wood, fastened with pins of the same material. The wheels were sections of a pine trunk; ungreased axles, and ungreased pole made unearthly music and to add to the difficulty of hauling such a vehicle, the box seat upon which Death sat as grim charioteer was filled with smooth-worn and heavy boulders. On Ash Wednesday, Good Friday and other days in Lent, this ghastly reminder of life's brevity and uncertainty, is hauled through the village by two of the most devout Penitentes who, to secure this important place in the procession, have to whip half the remaining repentant sinners in the valley.

Their virtuous labors are not without reward; no man so depraved that he does not gnash his teeth in impotent envy of their luck; no matron or maiden so chaste that soft glances of affectionate approval will not follow them. The church, my guide said, was built 130 years ago; his statement was fully sustained by its appearance. The interior was neat and in good order, but thoroughly Mexican. Upon one wall hung a small drum to summon the faithful to their devotions. The paintings were on wood and were I disposed to be sarcastic, I would remark that they ought to be burned up with the hideous dolls of Saints to be seen in one of the

10. It may still be seen in the same place—unless it has been removed very recently.

niches in the transept. This criticism, in all justice, would be apt and appropriate in our own day; but we should not forget that this little chapel dates back to a period and condition of affairs when the Arts were in their infancy, so far as these people were concerned; when the difficulties of transportation compelled the priests to rely upon native talent alone. This talent supplied the fearful artistic abortions we laugh at today; yet these pictures and dolls served their purpose in object-lessons to a people unable or unwilling to comprehend abstract theology—and altho' a newer and more progressive day has dawned, one which can readily replace these productions with the works of artistic merit, the halo of antiquity has endeared these smoke blackened daubs to the simple-minded youths and maidens who gather here to recite the Rosary or chant the Creed. To the traveller, the greatest charm of New Mexico will be lost when these relics of a by-gone day shall be superseded by brighter and better pictures framed in the cheap gilding of our own time. Because New Mexico is so archaic, because in language, manners and customs it differs so completely from our own people, and because its religious observances are so crusted over with a picturesque mediaevalism, or savagery, if you will,—the traveller endures uncomplainingly bedbugs, fleas, curoquis,—sand, grease and chile colorado. The name of the church, I forgot to mention, was "San José de Gracia."

Outside of Trampas, the road for a short distance is rocky and once more climbs in among cedar-clad hills. We came upon a party of boys driving "burros." "No quiere albaricoques," they shouted. ("Don't you wish any apricots?") The small sum of five cents bought us a hat-full, which served "Jack" and myself for breakfast. The pangs of hunger were beginning to make us long for Picurís, where we intended to cook a little bacon and to boil a pot of coffee. Our appetite was forgotten in the exquisite loveliness of the day: the weather during most of the year in New Mexico is so fine that I wonder the dead don't come to life under its invigorating influences.

A haggard old crone, clad in rags which had become worthless for any use except to scare crows, stood by the road-side. "Padrecitos míos!" she piped in trembling notes, "limosna por el amor de Diós." "My dear little fathers, alms for the love of God." Neither Jack nor myself felt any special pride in being charged with the paternity of such a for-

lorn old woman, but we handed out to her the balance of our apricots and a small sum of money;—an act of charity which, if the old woman's prayers be granted has secured for us an exalted place in Heaven after the burden of this world's cares shall have been laid down. I didn't ask who the old woman was or how she came there. I make it a point when in New Mexico to take everything as a matter of course and were I to learn tomorrow that this old woman has been begging in the same spot for the past 150 years, I shouldn't betray the slightest surprise.

A high hill was crossed after we parted from the beggar and as we were going down the other side, we met an Albino blind old man, in company with three women. The polite old Mexican who had shown me around Las Trampas, had it seemed while I was sketching the church, mounted his burro and left town. We now caught up with him, restlessly plying his heels into the ribs of his patient little jack and driving before him another which dragged two very large pine slabs. At the foot of the mountain, we had our first glimpse of the vale of Chamisal, a lovely nook shut in by a broad mass of high hills—an outspur from the Sierra Madre.

Here also were smiling fields, heavy with ripening harvests and pretty, babbling brooks flowing over beds of glistening pebbles, but the town itself is neither so large, so pretty, nor, perhaps, so rich as Trampas. Two miles further, a sharp knife-backed ridge intervening, was the valley of Peñasco—the counterpart in situation, fertility and beauty of the others described this morning.

Another half mile over a very rocky hill, very steep but not of any great height, our ambulance jumping from boulder to boulder, brought us to the Valley and Pueblo of Picurís. The first building I entered was the church, where I found the "governor" of the Pueblo, Nepomuceno, who with others of his tribe, was engaged in carpentry work, making a new altar and other much needed repairs. Until they were ready to talk to me, I devoted a few moments to looking at the building and its decorations. I also bought a stone hammer, which the Governor afterwards told me had been used for many years to strike the bell before and during service.

When he finished, Nepomuceno, (whose Indian name is Tol-wa-chi-sinni—Aguila del Sol—Eagle of the sun,) led me to his house much like those in other Pueblos. He gave

his full Spanish name as "Nepomuceno Martín, governor of this Pueblo." He said in the commencement that his people were of one stock and spoke the same language as those of Sandía, Taos and Isleta.¹¹

He became communicative after a little and indeed seemed to be, what he claimed to be, a man of intelligence. Indians, he said, did not like to talk about their clan divisions or gentes,¹² especially with strangers and of all strangers, Mexicans. Clans existed among all the tribes, those of the Pueblos, and all others—all were alike ("todos los mismos.") In Picurís, there were the following:

1	Aqua or Water	"Yo soy de este."	"I am of this."
2	Aquila or Eagle		
3	Arco en cielo	Rainbow	
4	Coyote	Coyote	
5	Tierra	Earth	
6	Sacate, con flor blanca,	Grass—that which has the white flower	
7	Dia	Day	
8	Sol	Sun	

The clan rules are the same as obtain among the other Pueblos. (See Zuni and Jemez.)

In former days, the buffalo ranged near here; at a place called Mora.¹³ The Picurís call themselves by that name; they call Zuni, Zona: Taos, Toa-willini; San Juan, Tavpenni; Santa Clara, Caypata; Pojuaque, Pojuaque; San Ildefonso, Pajua-tina; Navajoes, Cu-lu-uime; Apaches, Tur-hueiume; Utes and Shoshones, Yotanne; Comanches, Jajanne; Kiowas, Kayawanni; Crows, Soratiqui; Sioux, Corta Cabeza; Cheyennes, Cheyenni; Araphoes, Nipomanni, or Sarapaho; Lipans (?) Nipannano.

While in all accounts of the Nipannano, the country occupied by them is described as identical with that formerly roamed over by the Lipans, that is the Llano Estacado of Texas—and they themselves have been styled Apache, it is only just to add that some of the Indians of the Rio Grande speak of having met them in their trading excursions to the Nepestle or Arkansas, near Pueblo, where a great trading

11. Picurís and Taos are the survivors of the northern Tiwa group; Sandía and Isleta (north and south of Albuquerque) are survivors of the southern Tiwa group.

12. It will be noticed, here and below, that Bourke regarded the terms *clan* and *gens* as synonymous.

13. The Mora valley, from Picurís, is across the mountains to the east.

ground once seems to have existed;¹⁴ neither do I know whether any connection is claimed between them and the Lipans. If they had originally been the one people, the name Nipannano would of course apply to both. The Apaches have told me that the Lipans were their people and that the word Lipunin meant Buckskin, or the people who dressed in that material or had much of it. Dwelling in a good game country, it is not at all unlikely that, at least as compared with the Apaches, the Lipans had provided themselves abundantly with the pelts of elk, deer and antelope: on old maps I have noticed the name printed as ranging together, "Lipans and Apaches."

The people of Picurís claim to have always lived in their present location and also say that the people of Moqui, to the West, went from the Rio Grande country, to escape trouble from the Utes, Comanches and others who came in great numbers to make war upon them. (This may refer to an exodus either antecedent to or consequent upon the Spanish Invasion, and, if the latter, may have been incited by that cause alone or by that and the difficulties with contiguous tribes.) The Picurís impress me as an extremely poor people. They dress much as the other Pueblos but don any and every cast off rag they can pick up. Their appearance is much wilder than that of the usually meek and docile Pueblos and by many who have been among them, their personal attributes are considered identical with those of the Apaches whom they most certainly resemble very strongly. In their village are some Navajo blankets, which among all the Pueblos are made to do duty from generation to generation. They are very fond of hunting and find great inducements in the amount of game in the mountains behind their village. There elk and deer still roam in numbers and frequent encounters with savage bears and panthers add a little spice to the work of food-getting. Nepomuceno gave me a set of claws cut from a bear he had killed after a desperate encounter.

The Picurís employ the bow and arrow more than most of the Pueblos; their bow is made of the *sabina* (a species of mountain cedar,) backed with sinew; their arrows are all tipped with sheet iron and plumed with three owl feathers. These weapons, in size and finish cannot be distinguished from those made and used by the Apaches of N. E. Arizona.

14. This refers to El Cuartelejo, in eastern Colorado, to which place many of the Taos and Picurís Indians fled in 1704. Governor Cuervo persuaded them to return home two years later.

In agriculture, they still employ the rude wooden plow and transport their crops to market in creaking wooden "carretas." They make no baskets or blankets and but little pottery, of a very inferior quality. Much of what I saw among them had been brought from San Juan, but Nepomuceno insisted that they too knew how to make it and to color it, red, black, and white. They were not making any while I was there, so I had no means of determining positively whether or not my informant was giving me exact information: I see but small reason to doubt his statement, as there have been intermarriages between the people of this Pueblo and those of San Juan, which could not fail to introduce the ceramic art, even if we suppose that they haven't the sense or ambition to learn it from observation of their neighbors.

They are not well provided with animals: Nepomuceno declared that they had, all told, only five horses, twenty burros and about 50 head of cows, bulls etc. Before the coming of the Spaniards, had no means of transportation. At that time, depended much upon buffalo meat as a means of subsistence and had hunted the buffalo on the Llano Estacado down to within the past decade. Nepomuceno had often hunted them there; he had been to Nepeshte or Rio Nipanno or Arkansas River, where "there used to be a fuerte" (—i. e. Bent's Fort.) There he and his people had traded with the various bands of Indians mentioned in the beginning of our conversation.

But—he suddenly said in a tone of warning and disgust—"ese hombre que viene es muy chuchó; no hablaremos." (This man coming up is very much of a pup—don't let us talk any more.)

The individual indicated was one of those idle, shiftless Mexicans, always hanging around where least wanted. In the presence of one of these mongrels, a Pueblo can never be induced to speak of his people or their religion. When the Mexican came up, I asked him coldly what he wanted and bade him be off about his business. His mere presence seemed to have made Nepomuceno averse to further conversation: I regretted this very bitterly because my hope and intention had been to cross-examine him more fully upon the subject of the "gentes" or clans and the regulative system of the Pueblo. However, the main point was gained—the admission that they had such gentile organization and that in all relating to it or dependent upon it, the Pueblo followed the same rules as the Pueblo of Zuni and all other

Pueblos. In one word, Nepomuceno confirms what other Indians in Zuni, Santa Clara and San Juan, have intimated or boldly asserted—that the Seditary Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, altho' split up into different languages are practically the one people, so far as religion and law can make them. Divergences in custom exist of course; but these divergences are the result of the more or less intimate contact with Spanish civilization brought about by the more or less thorough subjugation of each Pueblo and its greater or less proximity to the seat of power which kept the pressure of Spanish civilization in place. Along the line of the Rio Grande, the Pueblo Indian has been compelled to defend his ancient customs by duplicity and hypocrisy; most of them he still adheres to in secret, many of them have been temporarily suspended and it is even possible that under the influence of an aggressive and superior ethnical development the absurdity or inutility of many of the practices of his Forefathers may have been demonstrated and the greater excellence of those of the Invaders discovered and accepted.

Coercion never yet made a convert; the bulk of the native population is today just as intensely pagan as it was when Vargas in 1692-4 effected its resubjection to the crown and religion of Spain.

The Picurís wear no head-gear, contenting themselves with a band tightly wound around the forehead after the fashion of the Apaches and Navajoes. They use the breech-clout and when they first don a pair of pantaloons have the ridiculous custom, I formerly noticed among the Jicarilla Apaches and Utes, of cutting out the seat. Turkey, eagle and owl feathers are worn in the hair and planted in their fields to bring rain. In this there is a slight discrepancy from the ideas of the Zuni who will never use the owl feather, because it is a feather of bad luck and certain to bring destructive winds and hail.

Children's cradles swing from the rafters of every house. Toys of various kinds are made for their children, and "shinny," played by both sexes, is a favorite out-door game. Cards are rarely played. For musical instruments, they employ drums, gourds, rattles, eagle-pipes &c. much as have been and will be described in writing of other Pueblos. In ordinary costume, they are seldom painted: occasionally, a man may be seen marked on the face with red or black: this last more as a protection against sun and bit-

ing wind than from any association with the idea of personal adornment.

Their houses are all of adobe, but the stables for burros and ponies are of log and the pens for the pigs of "jacal." The necessity of pig pens is not immediately apparent. Their hogs are first carefully chained and then fastened to a stake which enables them to enjoy the gratification of lying all day in the mud and basking in the sunlight, while it deprives them of the sweeter joy—dear to every hog's heart,—of rooting up and destroying the fields his master has so carefully planted. They have no menstrual lodges and no puberty dance. Arms are very scarce; rifles and revolvers are rarely to be seen, while bows and arrows are still plenty. Lassoos of hair are made with great skill. The governor of the Pueblo is called "Ta-poni;" each gens has its own cacique, but the cacique of the Dia gens is, if I rightly comprehended Nepomuceno, superior to the others. The Picurís smoke both Tobacco and Bunchi. They throw bread in fire, as a sacrifice, after the manner of the Zunis. They maintain an old tame eagle which occupies in solitary grandeur the "old pueblo." Nepomuceno told me of his existence and also pointed out his cage and perch, under which was a great amount of guano; but I insisted upon seeing the eagle in person. This I was successful in doing with the help of my guide who went into the building on one side while I remained without on the other.

The eagle soon made himself visible—a noble old bird, showing age in every movement. Nepomuceno said that he was "muy viejo," which I readily admitted.

The old pueblo itself is a veritable relic of antiquity; built of "cajón,"¹⁵ it must at one time have been of large dimensions, but at this date only three stories remain and these are rapidly going to pieces. The workmanship was extremely crude, the wood used being split with axes and put together in a clumsy way. There were no windows opening on the outside; presumably, there must have been openings upon an interior court of small size, but this I could not determine exactly, there being no ladder and the edifice being in such a tumble down condition that my guide said it would not be prudent to attempt to climb about it. I abided by his views, as he had only a few moments previously

15. Literally, "box," but here meaning large blocks of adobe instead of the better known adobe bricks. *Cajón* wall-structure may be seen, for example, in the prehistoric Pueblo foundations of the old Governor's Palace in Santa Fé.

been in some of the outer rooms on the lower floor to hunt up and chase out the old eagle.

The "estufa" of Picurís is a circular tower, 9 paces in diameter, about 8 or 10 ft. high, $\frac{3}{4}$ of which is above ground; it is built of adobe and is now much dilapidated. It is entered by ascending to the roof by a crazy ladder of cottonwood and thence by another equally crazy to the damp, dark and musty interior.

There is one carpenter in Picurís. Having heard the statement that the language of his Pueblo is essentially like that of the Apaches, I thought I would make use of a trifling acquaintance with the latter, gained during General Crook's campaign against them in Arizona in 1872-1875, to verify or disprove this opinion.

I asked Nepomuceno to give the cardinal numbers, up to and including ten; and the names for fire, water, horse, cow &c, all of which he did cheerfully and carefully—but in not a single instance was there the smallest traceable resemblance. I do not wish it to be inferred that I consider my feeble knowledge of Apache sufficient to determine this question. I am as much in doubt now as I was before making the experiment and shall promptly submit to the decision of any reputable linguist even should it be adverse; yet I cannot refrain from remarking that the names for the first series of cardinal numbers and those of such unchanging elements as fire and water, are not only, as a rule, permanent fixtures in each language, but in languages coming from the common stems, they are the surest means of determining identity of origin. Hence, a radical difference in these terms would be almost always, *prima facie* evidence against the theory of a common origin of two or three given languages.

The number of houses in Picurís cannot be much, if any, over thirty; they are about equally divided between one-storied and two-storied, but there are none higher than the latter. The Pueblo has a slouchy, down in the heel look, greatly at variance with the neat, trim and cleancut look of the Mexican settlements in the neighboring valleys. There are no accommodations for man or beast. My breakfast had been a handfull of apricots, bought from some boys on the road; for dinner and supper I had only a slice of raw bacon from Jack's mess-chest, a piece of stale bread and a couple of hard-boiled eggs luckily saved from those bought last night and now shared with the driver. Altho' I didn't feel

hungry, I was getting very anxious to reach some good ranch before night, more on our mules' account than our own.

Leaving Picurís, the road ascends for a short distance the narrow cañon of the Peñasco, here framed in by great boulders of granite and dotted with clumps of piñon and cedar. An abundance of water flows in the stream and is utilized at every convenient bend, where soil has been deposited, to irrigate petty patches of corn and beans. The road at one point runs down into the main ditch and follows, along its thread for not less than thirty yards.

Dozens of frail crosses capping heaps of stone, tell man that he is only mortal and recall to mind the dead whose corpses have in years gone by been carried past.

The road became very steep, rocky, water-washed and bad in every way, climbing a mountain Range, of considerable height, thickly timbered with pine of fine size, well suited for all milling purposes. On the North side of this Range (our road ran nearly North,) we descended into a lovely cañon closely hemmed in by the elevated ranges we had just crossed. Here two or three crystal streams came together, their point of junction being the former site of the old military post of Camp Burgwin, now a heap of undistinguishable ruins.¹⁶ Below the old post, the valley widened somewhat and showed several small areas well adapted for tillage, but unoccupied by inhabitants.

A brisk shower descended upon us as evening approached. When the rain ceased, a lovely bow spanned the sky with colors of dazzling brilliancy. The proximity of population was, however, attested by droves of "burros," young and old, grazing on the hill-sides; and, a few miles farther down the cañon, by herds of goats, attended by three or four boys.

We kept on down this creek which yielded enough water for two large acequias and a saw-mill, until we entered the Valley of Taos, a beautiful circle of mountain girt meadow land, containing a very extended acreage of fertile soil, dotted with comfortable looking houses and villages.

16. Capt. J. H. K. Burgwin, 1st U. S. Dragoons, a native of North Carolina and a graduate of West Point, was mortally wounded on February 4, 1847, in the battle at Taos Pueblo. This military post, named in his honor and now in ruins, was located near the southern confines of the beautiful Taos Valley. *Heitman's Register*, II, 484, wrongly locates it "about nine miles north of Taos."

(To be continued)

CHURCH AND STATE IN NEW MEXICO 1610-1650

By FRANCE V. SCHOLES

(Continued)

CHAPTER IV

KEEPING THE ISSUES ALIVE 1626-1637

I

FOR SEVERAL years following the departure of Juan de Eulate from New Mexico in 1626 the relations of Church and State were fairly peaceful. The prelates—Friar Alonso de Benavides (1625-1629), Friar Estéban de Perea (1629-1630), Friar Juan de Salas (1630-1632), and Friar Juan de Góngora (1632-1635)—were very much preoccupied with the expanding mission program and the indoctrination of the newly converted pueblos. The immediate successors of Governor Eulate were not always wholly sympathetic toward the Church and the missions, but their actions did not cause any major disputes. Prior to 1635 the investigations of the commissaries of the Holy Office (Benavides, 1626-1629, and Perea, 1630-c. 1639) were confined mostly to cases of bigamy, superstition, witchcraft, and demonology involving the ignorant and lowly members of society rather than the civil officers of the province.¹ But the old wounds, which had been created by the Peralta, Ceballos, and Eulate episodes, never entirely healed. Occasional irritations and differences occurred which kept the old issues alive.

Felipe de Sotelo Osorio, who succeeded Eulate as governor in 1625, appears to have maintained fairly friendly relations with Father Benavides, although his attitude on certain questions was regarded with some suspicion. In 1626 and at intervals during 1627 and 1628 Benavides received testimony which indicated a lack of orthodoxy and a certain hos-

tility to the Church on the part of the governor. It was said that Sotelo scorned ecclesiastical censures, that he expressed views contrary to the rights and immunities of the Church, and that he was guilty of heresy, blasphemy, and immorality.² But Benavides appears to have made little effort to investigate these charges. The accusations were made by soldier-encomenderos of Santa Fé, leaders in the local community. In their testimony one feels a definite personal hostility that was probably inspired either by rash statements and boasts on the part of Sotelo, or by resentment against certain of his governmental policies. More than fifty years later Governor Antonio de Otermín referred to the Sotelo situation in a letter addressed to the viceroy on April 5, 1682. Otermín stated that because Sotelo had imposed severe punishment in certain cases of theft and public immorality he had aroused such bitterness and resentment that he was ruined financially, and was even reduced to the extremity of watering his own horse! Otermín cited this case, together with several others, to prove that the soldier-citizens had always been unfriendly, even hostile, to governors who opposed their wishes.³

There is no reason, however, to assume that Sotelo was entirely sympathetic toward the Church, or that the charges against him were entirely baseless. But it does seem clear that they were inspired, in part, by malice. The citizens tried then, as later, to embarrass the governor by making charges that were ecclesiastical in character, or by denouncing him to the representative of the Inquisition. In due course of time Benavides transmitted the sworn testimony to the Holy Office in Mexico City, but it appears that no action was taken against Sotelo by that tribunal.

Sotelo's successor, Francisco Manuel de Silva Nieto, who governed the province from 1629 to 1632, was apparently *persona grata* to the Church because of his co-operation in the founding of new missions. But the next governor, Francisco de la Mora Ceballos, who held office from 1632 to 1635, soon earned the ill will of many persons, both clerical

and lay, by his eager desire to use his official position as a means of personal profit. Although no open crisis occurred during Mora's administration, some of his actions were so unsatisfactory that Friar Estéban de Perea, acting in his capacity as commissary of the Inquisition and as senior friar in the province, deemed it necessary to denounce them to the proper authorities.

In October, 1632, Perea informed the Holy Office that Mora was a bit lukewarm toward the affairs of the Inquisition,⁴ but this mild criticism was as nothing compared with the outburst contained in a letter which he wrote a year later. In the second dispatch Perea accused the governor of insatiable greed and of acts of injustice against all classes. "The whole land protests." Mora had turned the convents into trading posts and had made the friars his hucksters. Quantities of knives had been left at the mission pueblos, and the clergy were expected to trade them for hides. From the Indians he had seized their meager possessions. More, he had adopted Eulate's practice of giving *vales*, or permits,—"two fingers' width of paper"—authorizing the seizure of Indian boys and girls, "as if they were calves and colts," to be used as servants and laborers. These actions, Perea said, had inspired in the Indians a hatred for the Christian faith, "regarding our Holy Law as a law of slavery, [it] being [in reality] the law of most perfect liberty." Moreover, Mora had seized the possessions of many of the soldiers, and, "in order to shut their mouths and keep them from crying out to heaven," he had given them permission to establish estancias for stock raising, "not only on the *milpas* of the natives but even in the patios of the convents." There was no recourse, and Perea appealed to "the fountain of all justice and piety" for protection of the Church "and of these miserable souls."⁵

Partial confirmation of Perea's denunciation is contained in a viceregal decree, dated February 18, 1634. The decree stated that reports had been received that Mora had "destroyed" the province by sending to Santa Bárbara eight hundred cows, four hundred mares, and a quantity of

"ganado menor," to be sold in that market, and that as a result the citizens of New Mexico had nothing with which to sustain themselves. It was also stated that four persons, whose property had been seized, had fled "from the tyranny of said governor." The decree ordered an investigation of the charges.⁶ It is interesting to compare the contents of this decree with a statement in Otermín's letter of April 5, 1682, to the effect that Mora was so persecuted that he had to hide in the convent of Galisteo.⁷

There is probably no doubt that Mora tried to squeeze a large profit out of his term of office. But apparently he was able to present an adequate justification of his record to the authorities in Mexico City, for he was later appointed commander of the garrison and *alcalde mayor* of Acapulco.⁸

II

In November, 1634, Mora turned over the government of the province to his successor, Francisco Martínez de Baeza, who remained in office until April 18, 1637.⁹ Baeza's chief interest was to make the most of his opportunity as governor. It was the same old story—exploitation of the Indians and of the struggling Hispanic community. The sources of profit were few, but all of the governors exploited them, the only difference being in the zeal with which they pressed their advantage. The complaints of the clergy were ever the same, and they were made so often that they became a sort of litany. Neglect of the missions, denial of ecclesiastical authority, exploitation of Indian labor—over and over again the familiar refrain was repeated in letters addressed to the superior prelates of the Franciscan Order and to the viceroy, or in testimony transmitted to the Holy Office.

According to the clergy, Baeza lost no time in organizing trading ventures and exploiting Indian labor, to the utter neglect of his official obligations and duties. "... from the moment that he assumed control he has attended only to his own gain, and this with great excess and harm to all these provinces . . ." He imposed a heavy burden of labor on the

Indians, for which they received only a fraction of the wage due. Some were forced to gather piñon, which they carried in on their own backs to Baeza's warehouse; others were sent out to trade for hides; in all of the pueblos the Indians were forced to weave and paint great quantities of *mantas*, bunting, and hangings, and some of the pueblos that did not raise enough cotton "to cover their own nakedness" were obliged to barter with other villages for the cotton needed. The prices paid for the finished goods represented only one-sixth or one-eighth of the current local values. By the end of 1636 Baeza had accumulated such large quantities of piñon, hides, and locally manufactured goods that nine wagon loads were made ready for transportation to New Spain.⁸

In pursuing his own gain, the governor utterly neglected the missions. He abandoned the example set by his predecessors in promoting and assisting the conversions and in enforcing mission discipline.⁹ No new pueblos were baptized. And it was stated that the Indians, realizing that Baeza was not interested in supporting the labors of the Church, were becoming insubordinate and restless.¹⁰ Baeza, like Eulate, showing little enthusiasm or respect for the ceremonial of the Church, forced his servants to risk excommunication by requiring them to labor on feast days, scorned ecclesiastical censures and ridiculed persons who submitted to such censures, and indicated a certain lack of respect for the jurisdictional authority of the custodian. And according to the clergy there was no lack of persons who followed Baeza's example.¹¹

Thus by word and deed Baeza was said to have embarrassed the missionary labors of the friars. The most serious controversy between Baeza and the clergy was caused by the old problem of military escort for missionaries assigned to frontier pueblos. The Zuñi pueblos, where missionaries with resident friars had been established in 1629, grew restless under the restraining hand of their spiritual advisers. On February 22, 1632, the Zuñis killed Friar Francisco de

Letrado, who was in charge of the mission at Hawikuh, and five days later Friar Martín de Arvide, who was on his way to convert the Zipias who lived in northern Sonora, was killed by his Zuñi servants. A punitive expedition was sent out to the Zuñi country, but the Indians do not appear to have been thoroughly pacified. They fled to a refuge on Corn Mountain where they seem to have remained until 1635, when they began to reoccupy their villages.¹² At the meeting of the custodial chapter that year, friars were chosen to resume the work of the Church among the Zuñis, but failure of the governor to provide military escort for them delayed their departure.¹³

Finally, on September 24, 1636, Friar Cristóbal de Quiros, the custodian, addressed the governor in a formal *auto* in which he reviewed the situation at Zuñi, stated his desire to re-establish the missions there, and called upon Baeza to furnish sufficient military escort for the friars that were to be sent. His request was stated in the following language: "therefore I beg and beseech, and, if necessary require it, in behalf of His Majesty, that you appoint and send . . . military escort."¹⁴ Baeza resented the manner in which the request was made, and in his reply he declared that the custodian should present his petition in the manner in which "an ecclesiastical judge ordinary should address a governor and captain general, and not by *auto*."¹⁵ Baeza's reply could have had but one effect. Quiros responded by another formal petition in which he reviewed the obligations of the governors to provide escort for friars, and then added: "I demand of Your Lordship, on behalf of His Majesty and as prelate of these provinces by whom His Majesty discharges his royal conscience, that you grant and appoint the escort necessary for the province of Zuñi." Quiros also insisted that although it was the expressed opinion of certain persons that the friars should pay for the sustenance and wages of such escort, actually the friars were under no such obligation. On the contrary, it was the duty of the governor to provide the same, for to this purpose the king granted to the

Spaniards encomiendas and tributes of the natives. In conclusion, Quiros stated that should the escort be refused, "then all the spiritual and temporal damage that may result therefrom must be laid up to the account of Your Lordship."¹⁶

Quiros was clearly right in his request for an escort, as the viceregal instructions addressed to Governor Eulate on February 5, 1621, had provided for such escort by the encomenderos. But in a blazing decree Baeza demanded that Quiros present documents to prove that the king had ordered such escorts and that these should be at the cost of the encomenderos. The encomiendas had been granted, he said, in order that the encomenderos might reside in the Villa de Santa Fé in the capacity of citizens of the same, "and for no other purpose except as the governor may order." In fact, had it not been decreed that the conversions should be made in apostolic fashion, and had not the friars themselves presented reports stating that there was no need of soldiers in these provinces? Let Quiros present his proof! More, let him also make his requests without exceeding the jurisdiction actually his, unless by inclination he cannot refrain from pleas and "disgustos," such as he has had with all the governors from Peralta to the present.¹⁷

The outcome of this controversy is not known with certainty, but it is improbable that friars were sent to the Zuñi area at this time.¹⁸ Whatever the result may have been, the immediate concern of both parties was apparently the preparation of justificatory reports to be sent to Mexico City. Baeza's letters have not been found, but it is probable that his major complaint had to do with the alleged arrogance of the clergy, their habit of stirring up strife and contention, and the unjust manner in which they were said to impose ecclesiastical censures.¹⁹

The reports of the clergy took the form of a series of letters addressed to the viceroy in November and December, 1636.²⁰ These letters, which have been summarized in part in the foregoing discussion, contained scathing denunciations of Baeza and all his works. The whole land had felt

the weight of his tyranny—Indians, clergy, and Spaniards alike. He had violated royal and viceregal decrees, and had put his own advantage above that of the Crown. By manipulating elections he had made the cabildo of Santa Fé his servant. False reports had been sent to the viceroy. "Most Excellent Sir," wrote Friar Zambrano, "I swear that Governor Francisco Martínez is unworthy of receiving a single *real* from the royal treasury, because he does not deserve it," etc.²¹ The clergy stated that although they had sought a remedy for such conditions on other occasions, the instructions and orders that had been issued as a result of their petitions had always been violated. "They are dead and buried . . . Wherefore, we supplicate Your Excellency with the greatest humility and submission possible that you may look with pity on this new Church and its poor ministers."²²

The letters of Father Quiros and his associates were sent to New Spain by special messenger during the winter of 1636-1637. Near Parral the messenger met the mission supply caravan, which was proceeding northward on its regular triennial journey, and Friar Tomás Manso, administrator of the caravan, added a letter of his own to be sent with those of his New Mexico colleagues. He stated that reports indicated that conditions in New Mexico were very serious and that the Church and clergy were being subjected to open insult. He also stated that the reports which Governor Baeza was sending concerning the conduct of the friars were based on falsified testimony, and that the two men who were bearing the dispatches were so untrustworthy that the viceroy should not give credence to anything they said. But Manso saw a ray of hope. A new governor, Luís de Rosas, was accompanying the caravan and would soon take over the administration of the province. "And may God be praised . . . for his actions promise us great pleasure and peace and the increase of that Church which at present is so despised." Manso begged the viceroy to suspend judgment until Rosas had taken Baeza's residencia and had filed a report concerning the same.²³

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. See F. V. Scholes, "The First Decade of the Inquisition in New Mexico," *NEW MEX. HIST. REV.* (1935), 195-241.

2. The original testimony is in A. G. P. M., *Inquisición*, Tomos 356 and 363. For a more detailed statement of the charges, see Scholes, "First Decade of the Inquisition in New Mexico," 201-206.

3. Otermín to the viceroy, April 5, 1682. A. G. I., Mexico 53. (In my article cited in notes 1 and 2, I incorrectly gave this letter as in A. G. I., Guadalajara 138.)

4. "... el governador don Francisco de la Mora se muestra un poco tibio o sin oficio a lo que toca al santo Tribunal (lo que no hacía don Francisco de Silva) . . ." Perea to the Holy Office, October 2, 1632. A. G. P. M., *Inquisición* 304, f. 180.

5. Perea's letter is in A. G. P. M., *Inquisición* 380, ff. 231, 232.

6. A. G. P. M., *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 35, Exp. 5.

7. Otermín to the viceroy, April 5, 1682. A. G. I., Mexico 53.

7a. Letters of Viceroy Cadereita, Mexico, February 28, 1639, in A. G. I., Mexico 469; libranza of March 11, 1639, in A. G. I., *Contaduría* 738.

7b. Baeza left Mexico City on July 4, 1634, arrived in New Mexico toward the end of November, 1634, and served as governor until April 18, 1637. Libranza of December 7, 1638, in A. G. I., *Contaduría* 734; declaration of Fray Jerónimo de la Llana, at Cuarcac, January 1, 1636, in A. G. P. M., *Inquisición* 369, exp. 14.

8. *Cartas que se escriuieron a su Ex^a del nuevo Mexico Por los Religiosos della Por fin del año de 636 quezandose del Gouierno de francisco Martinez de Baeza*. A. G. P. M., *Provincias Internas*, Tomo 35, Exp. 3.

9. "... Y los Gouern^s que a hauido en estas prouincias sus antecessores an ayudado Siempre a la Conuers^{on} de alguna prouincia y vissitado los pueblos por sus personas animando a Los infieles a que se baptizen Y Reduzgan a la Yglesia; Y a los fieles dandoles a entender Acudan a la Obligacion q tienen a la doctrina y obediencia a los Ministros; dandoles p^a esto muy grandes exemplos para mouelos a ello, y castigando a los malhechores y turbadores." Letter of the custodian and definitors to the viceroy, November 28, 1638, *Ibid.* This praise of former governors does not square with Perea's bitter denunciation of Governor Mora Ceballos.

10. "... y en cosas del seru^o de Dios y de Su Mag^d no a acudido y sino fuera la mucha Vigilancia de los rreligiosos Entiendo estubiera la tierra alçada porque los propios naturales no hazen casso de sus mandatos ni bales que a los pueblos inbia ni quieren acudir a la doctrina ni missa como tienen obligacion y todo esto procede Ex^{mo} S. por el poco castigo que a hecho y gran rremision del gouer^{no} y auizandole algunos rreligiosos q lo rremedia les ha rrespondido que quien le mete a el," etc. Friar Pedro de Zambrano to the viceroy, November 6, 1636. *Ibid.*

11. (a) "... cap^{an} albaro garcia olgado . . . dixo . . . que abra dos años poco mas o menos questandole este declarante dziendole pintar vnas mantas Y trabajando Los dias de fiesta saluo los domingos y fiestas prinzipales y que en las otras fiestas que no obligauan a los yndios y obligauan a los españoles, Le hazia el dho gouer^{or} a este declarante que trauajando los yndios El trabajase Tambien con ellos lo qual sauido por el prelado Puso vna descomunion fijada en la puerta de la yglesia en que daba por descomulgados a los que trabajasen en los dhos dias de fiesta y sobre otras cosas semejantes a esta Y que este declarante Tubo noti^a esta descomunion Y Se uio a absolver della Y luego fue a proseguir en la pintura de las dhas mantas a casa del dho Fr. Martinez de Baeza Y allandole a la puerta Por uer si le dejaua yr a su casa le dixo como Venia de absolverse de la descomunion en q avia incurrido Por auerle obedezido en trabajar en dias de fiesta a lo qual el dho Fran^{co} martinez de baeza muy enojado y con Vos alta: dixo a Vorrachos buzzarrones rrepitiendolo dos veces con aquel enojo Y visolo tal este declarante baxo los ombos Y Vbo de obedezarle Y trabajar todos los demas dias de fiesta de alli adelante asta que se acauo tiempo de quatro meses yncurriendo siempre en la descomunion . . . Y que oyo dezir en otra ocasion a personas de Credito q estandole haziendo vnas Carretas al dho Fr^{co} martinez de baeza El Capitan alonso martin Barba

Y porque debio de sauer que no trabajaban los dias de fiesta les embio a dezir que no measen tanto agua Vendita q Trabajasen aunque fuesen los dias de fiesta y que saue este declarante q en estas cosas es defectuoso." Declaration of Alvaro García Holgado, July 13, 1637. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 369, Exp. 14.

(b) "... fr. fran^{co} de San Buena Ventura . . . denuncia y declara que abra Vn año Poco mas o m^{os} que estando en el pueblo de Jacona de la nazon teguas en ocasion q estaua alli tambien el g^{or} fr^{co} martinez de baeza: Y el Capitan P^o Lucero de godoy y el cap^{an} fran^{co} de Madrid. Tratando de algunos pleitos que abia sobre descomuniones entre el dho gouernador y el prelado destas prouy^{as} Le dijo este declarante: q el prelado en las censuras q Ponia Le parecia q Tenia R^{oa} y Justi^a y que las dhas censuras eran las armas de la yglesia a lo qual rrespondio dho gouernador afeando a los soldados el ser temerosos de Dios y a las censuras de la yglesia que eran Vnos diçones Pues no hera p^a sufrir vna descomunion Y Dice mas este declarante que vn mes antes desto estando el dho gouer^{or} fran^{co} martinez de baeza en este dho conv^{to} con la mayor parte del Cauildo, Yendo hacia la porteria oyo al dho gouer^{or} que les Yba diziendo: a todos los suso dhos que heran buzarrones Por auerse dejado descomulgar por Los prelados pasados," etc. Declaration of Friar Francisco de San Buenaventura, July 11, 1637. *Ibid.*

(c) "... el Capitan fran^{co} de madrid . . . dixo que lo que saue es que abiendo el prelado Y Jues ordinario destas prouy^{as} descomulgado el Cap.^{an} Manuel correa Y pedidole el auxilio al gouer^{or} fran^{co} martinez de Baeza p^a Prenderle y proceder contra el y abiendo el dho fran^{co} Martinez de baeza Mandado al ayudante di.^o martin barba q le prendiese Y tubiese preso en su propia Casa Pero que añidio Luego El dho gouer^{or} fran^{co} Martinez de baeza mandando al dho ayundante que aunque el prelado Y juez ord.^o le pidiese no se le entregase Porque tenia tambien q. proceder contra El y que aunque Vajase Jesuxpto no le entregase quanto mas que no bajaria Jesuchristo a eso." Declaration of Capt. Francisco de Madrid, July 14, 1637. *Ibid.*

(d) "... Doña maria de rromero . . . dice y denuncia q, el año pass^{do} Vispera de la Ascess^{on} estando rrepicando a Visperas Y estando actualm^{te} en su casa el gouer^{or} fran^{co} Martinez de baeza: Le dijo este declarante por cortesia con liz^a de VS^a me boy a visperas a lo qual le dijo el dho Fran^{co} Martinez de baeza con enojo: Voto a christo q si mi mug^r fuera que la matara a palos Porque no fuera A misa ni a visperas ni a Completar." Declaration of Maria de Romero, July 14, 1637. *Ibid.*

(e) "... Y siempre a proseguido con sus malas palabras en abatir y afrentar a los Religiosos en todas sus conuersaciones y platicas alla entre sus Soldados, con palabras tan feas y sucias q. son indignas de oir y menos de escriuirse; Y es claro q a tales palabras de vn Gouern^{or} y cabeça no an de faltar (antes sobrar) Soldados q le imiten, atreuiendosse a muy grandes descomposturas de manos y de palabras, como consta por la aberiguacion q se a hecho dello, hasta hauer Soldado q a dho al Religioso, calla Papista que te dare de palos; Lenguaje de inglaterra y de los paisses Rebelados. Y como se allega a esto el decir el Gourn^{or} qu no ay Aqui Jurisdiccion Eclessiastica ordinaria, que conosca O pueda conocer de caussa alguna de Soldado, sino solo el Gouern^{or} Y ser la gente desta tierra de tan pobres y miserables Subjetos y que entre ellos emos tambien conosido, vnos griegos, bassallos del turco, ingleses, franceses flamencos munchos, Y alemanes, italianos y lebantiscos y que les emos de creer q son del pueblo O ciudad de que ellos quieren decir y de la fee q ellos quieren professan-Los hijos de aquestos criados sin Doctrina de sus padres q tales pueden ser? por lo qual se padescen muy grandes traauajos. Y la caussa de Dios muy gran Ruina." Letter of the custodian and definitors to the viceroy, November 28, 1636. *Cartas que se escriuieron. A G. P. M., Provincias Internas 35, Exp. 3.*

12. The punitive expedition was sent in March, 1632. Hodge (Benavides, *Memorial*, 293) reproduces the following modernized version of the inscription left by one Luján, a member of the expedition, on El Morro, or Inscription Rock: "Se pasaron á 23 de Marzo de 1632 Años a la Benganza de Muerte del Padre Letrado." It is impossible to state with certainty whether this expedition was sent out by Governor Silva or by Governor Mora, although it has been customary to state that the latter sent it. Coan, *History of New Mexico*, 190. According to the records in the Sección de Contaduría,

A. G. I., it appears that Mora succeeded Silva in March, 1632, but it is impossible to state the exact date in March. It is entirely possible, therefore, that the expedition was sent by Mora, and this may be the basis of the assertion of Friar Quiros that Mora left them at peace. Cf. note 14. Cf. also A. F. Bandelier, "An Outline of the Documentary History of the Zuñi Tribe," *Journal of American Ethnology and Archaeology*, III (1892), 96-102.

13. Cf. note 14.

14. "Fray christoual de quiros custodio destas prouy^{as} del nueuo Mex^{co} y Jues ordinario della por autoridad apostolica ett^a—digo q por quanto los yndios del peñol de caquima de la prouy^a de Çuñi q se abian alsado en tiempo del gou^{or} don fran^{co} de silua los quales yndios, don Fran^{co} de la mora q susedio en el gouierno los deixo de paz la qual siempre an conseruado desde q enbio el dho don Fran^{co} de la mora al Mro. de campo Thomas de albisu y subieron los rreligiosos q yuan con el dho Mro de campo al peñol con algunos Soldados los quales yndios tengo noticia q se ban poblando en sus pueblos de un año a esta parte poco despues q yo bine de aquella dha prouy^a y por ser ya esta dha gente Xtiana y tener yo el dho custodio de mi parte obligacion y la Mag^d del Rey nro S.^r de la suya de conservar los dhos yndios en dotrina y por el peligro q corren las almas de tantos Xptianos de morirse sin los santos sacramentos y asi mismo los niños q uan nasciendo y se mueren sin el agua del S.^{to} baptismo por auer ya seis años poco mas o menos q carecen de ministro—por tanto a VS.^a pido y suplico y si ncesario es se lo requiero de parte de su Mag.^d q señale y enbie a la dha prouy^a de çuñi Soldados de escolta sufisiente para conseruacion de aquella prouy^a lo vno para q acauen de congregar los dhos Yndios y lo otro para seguridad de los ministros q quiero ynbiar y tengo señalados vn año a en el capitulo de S.^a Fran.^{co} de sandia por q de no dar la dha escolta no suseda lo q susedio en tiempo del dho don fran^{co} de silua q se alsaron los yndios y mataron a su ministro con lo qual pusieron en rriesgo a los yndios de la prouy^a de moqui a alsarse y matar a su ministro y perder su Mag.^d lo q tanto le a costado el poner estas prouy^{as} en el estado q estan y mando a nro secretario el P.^e fray domingo o del S.^{to} Predicador y guar^{an} de la uilla de S.^{ta} fee notifique este auto a la pers^a del S.^r Fran^{co} martinez de baeça gouernador destas dhas prouy^{as}—fr. Xptoual de quiros custodio." A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas 34, Exp. 1.

15. *Auto*, September 24, 1636. *Ibid.*

16. Quiros to Baeza, September 27, 1636. *Ibid.*

17. *Auto*, September 27, 1636. *Ibid.* For the obligations of encomenderos to serve as escort for friars, see *Instructions to Eulate*, February 5, 1621 (NEW MEX. HIST. REV., III (1928), 377-378. Baeza's statement that it had been decreed that conversions should be made in apostolic manner was probably based on the stereotyped instructions issued to each governor when he took office. These followed the form of Peralta's instructions in 1609, in which we find the following statement: "Y en casso que despues se ayan de hacer algunas entradas contra los Yndios que no estubieren de paz permitira que solo las hagan Religiosos que quisieren salir en la forma apostolica a fundar y plantar nra santa fe y esto de manera que quede dotrina basante para los que al pressente estubieren de paz." NEW MEX. HIST. REV., IV (1929), 186.

18. Father Quiros reported as follows: "... desde el día q Vino por Gouern^{or} francisco martinez de baeça, q es el que de presente la gouierna La Conuerss^{on} destes naturales a cesado de todo punto sin querer dar fauor alos M^{ros} como se lo pedi para Los indios dela prou^a de Çuñi q se hauian alçado los años passados, Y son Xptianos, los quales, D. francisco de la mora Gouernando estas Prouy^{as} (como es la verdad) los dexo de paz. Y por hauer muerto Los indios al Religioso q los administraua se hauian alçado, Y hauiendose dado de paz temiendo yo q el Religioso q se les podria dar no tendria Seguridad de la vida pedi escolta Y fauor al dho fran.^{co} martinez de baeça, por q^{to} aquella Prou^a a seis años, q la gente della es Xptiana, y es lastima, q se condemnen tantas almas por carecer de M^{ro} Y de los S^{tos} Sacramentos lo q^l no fue possible querer dar ayuda Y fauor, como Constara a V. Ex.^a por la dilig^a que por Escripto hize la qual imbio a Vex^a por mano de mis Prelados." Quiros to the viceroy, December 1, 1636. *Cartas que se escriuieron*, A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas 35, Exp. 3. But we

should take into account the implications of the following inscription on El Morro: "Pasamos por aqui el Sargento Mayor y Capitan Jua de Archuleta y el Aiudante Diego Martin . . . 1636." R. E. Twitchell, *Leading Facts of New Mexican History*, I (Cedar Rapids, Ia., 1911), 340. Whether these soldiers visited the western part of the province before or after September, it is impossible to state. Likewise, we are left in the dark concerning their mission. It is worth noting, however, that in December of 1636 Diego Martín Barba held the office of "Secretary of War and Government." Declaration of Mateo de Mançanares, December 7, 1636. A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas 34, Exp. 1. Cf also the following comment or superscription on the original manuscript of the *autos*, etc., which passed between Baeza and Quiros in 1636: "Y para que si Embiaren ymform.^{on} o Ynforme de q. los dhos Çuñis Estauan de paz y Reduzidos. En tiempo de mi antecesor aviendo pasado tantos años por que no les avian puesto ministro Y escoltta q.^{do} se reduxeron, Como an querido dar a entender.—Conque se conoze por estos autos del Cust.^o averlos yo Reduzido y abaxado De paz Y no otro ningun gouer.^{or} demas de Constar desta Verdad por la ynform.^{on} que Remito." *Ibid.* However we may interpret the meaning of these bits of evidence, it is fairly certain that no permanent missions were re-established in 1636.

19. In the autumn and early winter of 1636, Baeza compiled evidence concerning the practice of Father Quiros and his associates of excommunicating persons for failure to attend mass on feast days, and the alleged inconvenience that was involved in seeking out the prelate in order to obtain absolution. A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas 34, Exp. 1.

20. These are the letters cited as *Cartas que se escriuieron*. A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas 35, Exp. 3.

21. Zambrano to the viceroy, November 6, 1636. *Ibid.*

22. Letter to the custodian and definitors, November 2, 1636. *Ibid.*

23. Manso to the viceroy, February 11, 1637. *Ibid.*

ANNOUNCING THE FIRST PUBLICATION OF THE
FREDERICK WEBB HODGE ANNIVERSARY
PUBLICATION FUND

The History of Hawikuh, New Mexico, by Dr. F. W. Hodge, is to be the first publication of the Fund which bears his name, a fund being raised by voluntary contributions to commemorate his fifty years (1886-1936) in American anthropology. The purpose of the Fund is to publish works in the American field. Through the generosity of Dr. George G. Heye and the Trustees of the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, the initial publication will appear at no cost to the Fund. Dr. Hodge was on the staff of the Museum of the American Indian for 13 years, leaving it in 1932 to become Director of Southwest Museum.

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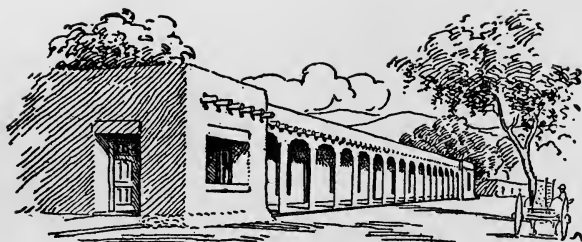
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NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOL. XI

OCTOBER, 1936

No. 4



PALACE OF THE GOVERNORS

PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO
AND
THE UNIVERSITY OF NEW MEXICO

NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NEW MEXICO

(As amended Nov. 19, 1929)

Article 1. *Name.* This Society shall be called the Historical Society of New Mexico.

Article 2. *Objects and Operation.* The objects of the Society shall be, in general, the promotion of historical studies; and in particular, the discovery, collection, preservation, and publication of historical material, especially such as relates to New Mexico.

Article 3. *Membership.* The Society shall consist of Members, Fellows, Life Members and Honorary Life Members.

(a) *Members.* Persons recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society may become members.

(b) *Fellows.* Members who show, by published work, special aptitude for historical investigation may become Fellows. Immediately following the adoption of this Constitution, the Executive Council shall elect five Fellows, and the body thus created may thereafter elect additional Fellows on the nomination of the Executive Council. The number of Fellows shall never exceed twenty-five.

(c) *Life Members.* In addition to life members of the Historical Society of New Mexico at the date of the adoption hereof, such other benefactors of the Society as shall pay into its treasury at one time the sum of fifty dollars, or shall present to the Society an equivalent in books, manuscripts, portraits, or other acceptable material of an historic nature, may upon recommendation by the Executive Council and election by the Society, be classed as Life Members.

(d) *Honorary Life Members.* Persons who have rendered eminent service to New Mexico and others who have, by published work, contributed to the historical literature of New Mexico or the Southwest, may become Honorary Life Members upon being recommended by the Executive Council and elected by the Society.

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Article 5. *Elections.* At the October meeting of each odd-numbered year, a nominating committee shall be named by the president of the Society and such committee shall make its report to the Society at the November meeting. Nominations may be made from the floor and the Society shall, in open meeting, proceed to elect its officers by ballot, those nominees receiving a majority of the votes cast for the respective offices to be declared elected.

Article 6. *Dues.* Dues shall be \$3.00 for each calendar year, and shall entitle members to receive bulletins as published and also the *Historical Review*.

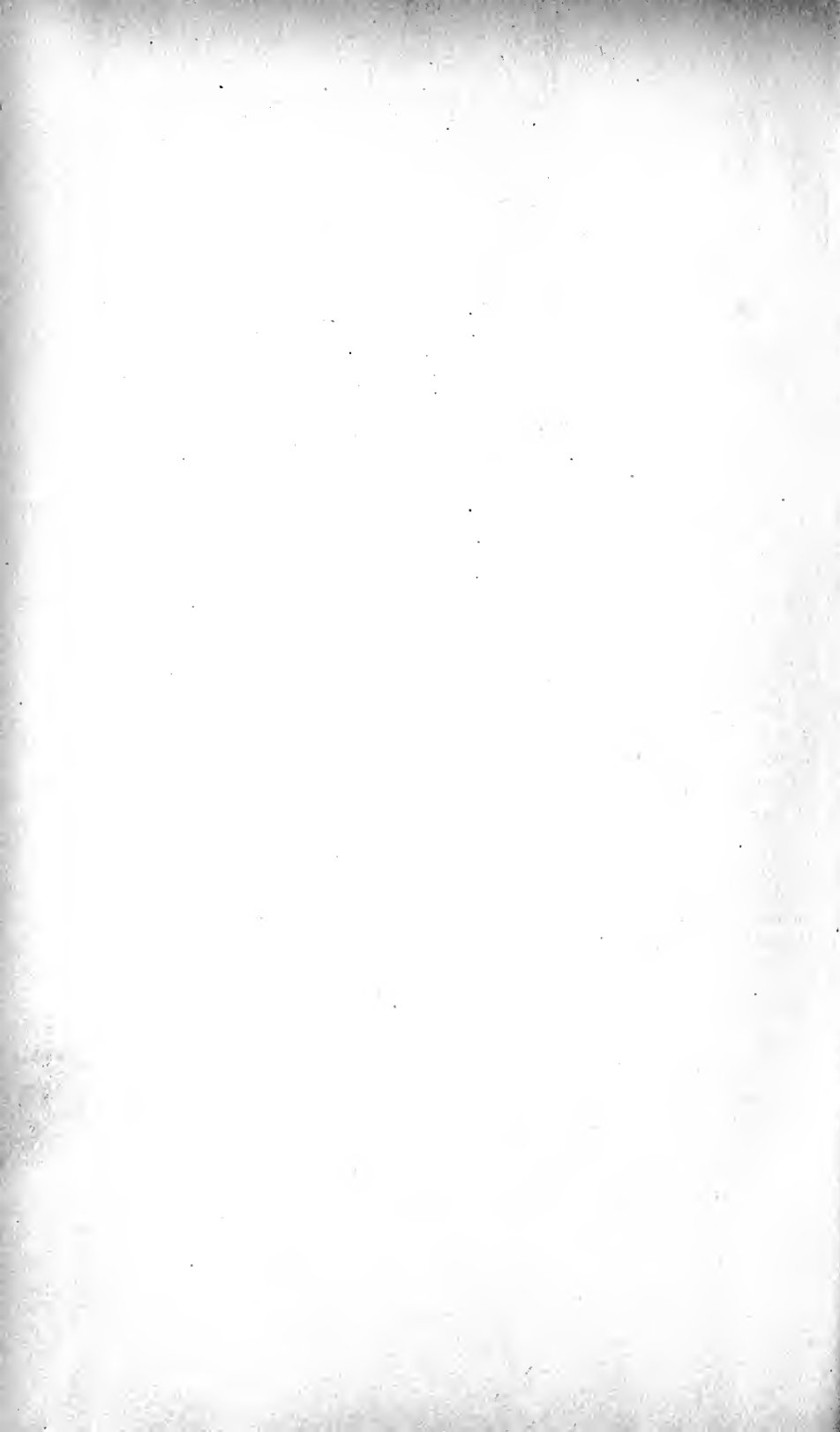
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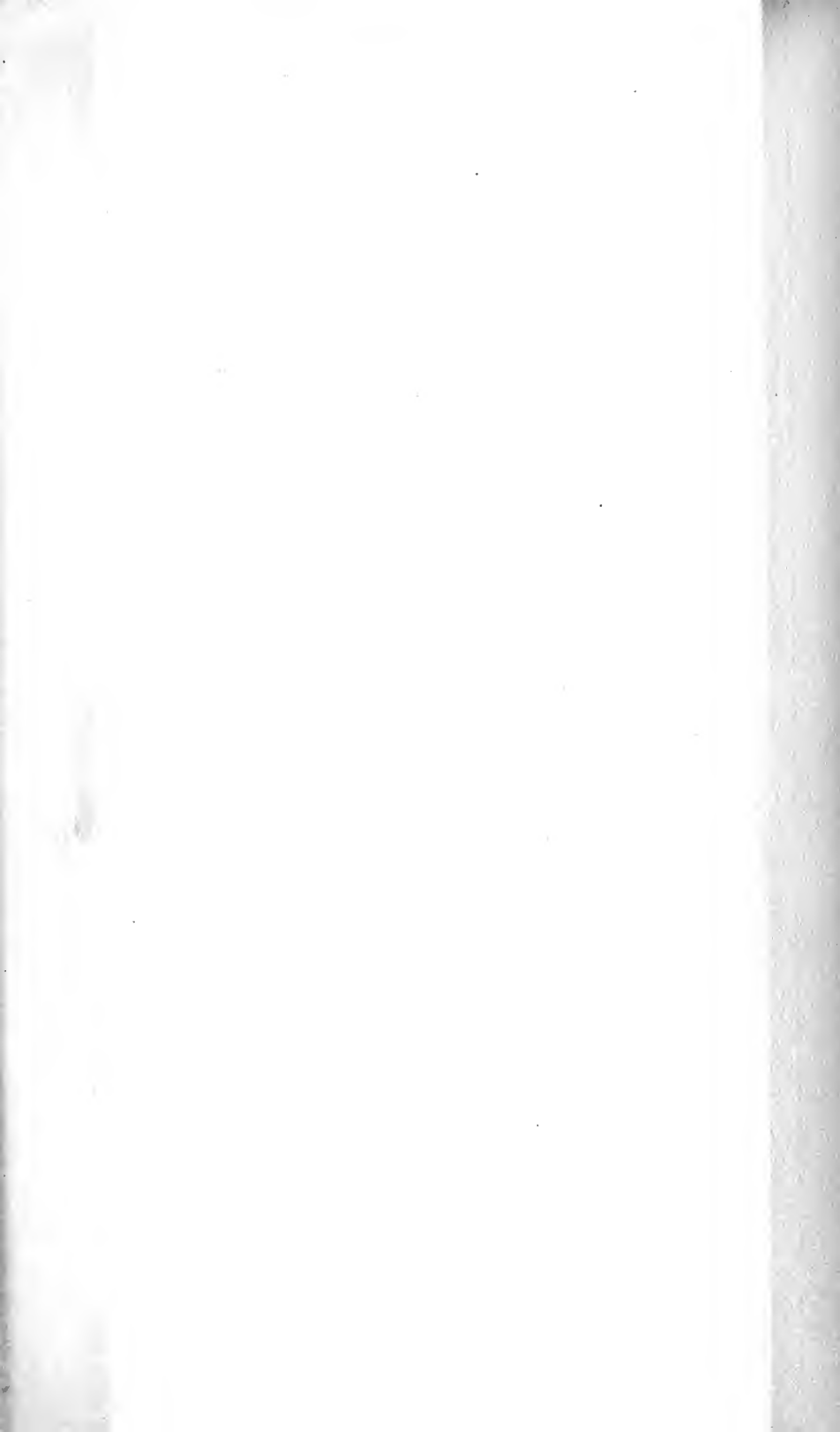
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Students and friends of Southwestern History are cordially invited to become members. Applications should be addressed to the corresponding secretary, Lansing B. Bloom, State University, Albuquerque, New Mexico.





NEW MEXICO HISTORICAL REVIEW

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No. 4

CHURCH AND STATE IN NEW MEXICO 1610-1650

By FRANCE V. SCHOLES

(Continued)

CHAPTER V

THE ADMINISTRATION OF LUÍS DE ROSAS 1637-1641

I

WITH THE possible exception of Diego de Peñalosa, who was governor from 1661 to 1664, Luís de Rosas was the most interesting of all the men who ruled New Mexico prior to the Pueblo Revolt. He was an outspoken, hard-hitting soldier, fearless in action. He made his decisions quickly and executed them ruthlessly. He had the qualities useful in a leader of a faction, but unsuited to the civil administration of a province where passions had already been deeply aroused. Men admired him or hated him, for his character was of that direct and positive sort that leaves no room for neutral ground.

Rosas was appointed governor of New Mexico by the viceroy, Marqués de Cadereita, and the clergy of New Mexico later charged that he was merely Cadereita's servant.¹ The first glimpse of Rosas, in the spring of 1636 probably soon after his appointment, shows him anxious to set out for his province, for he had petitioned the viceregal authorities for permission to leave for New Mexico in advance of the regular

supply caravan.² He was obliged to curb his restlessness, however, and wait for the caravan that left later in the year. He arrived in New Mexico in the spring of 1637, and on April 19 took over the province from his predecessor, Francisco Martínez de Baeza.³

During Rosas' term of office (1637-1641) the spirit of faction and bitterness between the two jurisdictions that had been developing ever since the days of Peralta came to a climax in a series of tragic events which left the province a house divided. Father Manso's optimism was not justified; Rosas, instead of giving the Church "pleasure and peace," soon came to be regarded as the mortal enemy of the clergy.

Curiously enough the Inquisition played only a very minor role during the Rosas period. An explanation is not difficult to find. Friar Estéban de Perea continued to exercise the authority of local representative of the Holy Office during the decade of the 1630's. To the end of his life Perea retained his old zeal, and instead of taking his ease at the pueblo of Sandía he assumed the responsibilities of a new mission post in the pueblo of Cuarac. His quarter-century of experience in all phases of missionary business, his terms as prelate, and the vindication he had received in Mexico City in 1627-1629 gave him great personal influence, and as a member of the committee of definitors he kept in touch with details of local administration. But active leadership had passed into other hands. Friar Cristóbal de Quiros and Friar Juan de Salas who bore the brunt of the conflict with Baeza and Rosas were old associates of Perea, and they probably relied on him for counsel. But they made the final decisions, not Perea.

Age was demanding its inevitable price: the Perea of the 1630's was not the Perea of the old quarrel with Eulate. During the last four or five years of his life, he exercised his functions as agent of the Holy Office sparingly. He did not seek to initiate investigations and summoned only a few witnesses when a situation had been presented to him in a voluntary declaration. His death, which probably occurred

in the winter of 1638-1639,⁴ came just at the moment when Custodian Salas and Governor Rosas were "clearing the decks" for a finish fight. By the time the Holy Office could appoint a new agent for New Mexico the situation had passed the investigation stage and demanded more stringent action than could be taken under the cumbersome methods involved in an inquisitorial process.

Thus in the great crisis of 1639-1642 the weapons which Perea had eagerly sought as an aid to the Church lay unused. In the preliminary skirmishes of 1638 a few sworn declarations of evidence were made and duly transmitted to the Holy Office, but they are important now only as a source of information concerning certain events of that period. Faltering hands wielded the weapons of the Inquisition—and those hands were Friar Estéban de Perea's!

II

Rosas' first important duty as governor was to take the residencia of his predecessor. The clergy confidently expected that he would submit Baeza to severe rebuke and punishment, but to their amazement he refused to permit himself to be made their instrument of vengeance. It was charged several years later (1641) by the anti-Rosas faction that he accepted a bribe from Baeza in return for which he made no strict investigation of the latter's official conduct.⁵ This was not unlikely, as bribery was not an uncommon means of escaping a strict residencia. It is evident in any case that Rosas refused to take the side of the Church with regard to the recent difficulties with Baeza, and his independent action, whether it involved the acceptance of a bribe or not, brought him adverse criticism.

This was merely the first cause of friction between the two jurisdictions. More important was the old problem of Indian administration, for Rosas appears to have adopted the system of exploitation that had been employed by his predecessors. The most explicit, as well as the most detailed, indictment on this charge is contained in a general accusa-

tion presented in 1641 by Capt. Francisco de Salazar, one of the governor's enemies and a leader in the clerical, anti-Rosas faction. Additional information is found in depositions made before Friars Perea and Salas and transmitted to the Holy Office. The accusations contained in these documents may be divided into two groups: (1) those dealing with the exploitation of the converted Pueblos, and (2) those which relate to Rosas' policy toward the nomadic tribes.

With regard to the Pueblos Rosas followed Baeza's example and required the Indians of the several villages to weave mantas and other textiles. He also established a workshop in Santa Fé where the Indians, both Christian and unconverted, including Apache and "Utaca" captives, were forced to labor for long hours under conditions of virtual servitude, and it was said that Rosas himself was often to be found there, surrounded by Indians and so covered with dirt that only by his clothes could he be distinguished from the Indians.⁶ Indian labor was employed also in planting great quantities of food.⁷ Likewise, the frontier pueblos were used for barter and trade with the nomadic Apaches. The pueblo of Pecos was one of the most important of these frontier trading posts, and from time immemorial the Indians had bartered for the buffalo hides and meat brought in by the Apaches. To Pecos Rosas took a large quantity of knives to be used in trade, but apparently he had little success in this venture. The governor blamed the friars in charge of the mission, and had one of them arrested and placed under guard.⁸ It was also charged that, in order to induce the Indians of Pecos to greater activity, he promised them permission to revert to some of their old pagan and idolatrous customs if they could furnish more mantas and hides.⁹

The denunciations of Rosas' policy toward the nomadic, unconverted tribes were equally severe. Against the "Utacas," a bellicose people living beyond the Pueblo area, but from whom the Spaniards and Pueblos had received no harm, Rosas was said to have made unjust war. Several of the

Indian warriors were killed during the encounter, and a group of eighty were captured, some of whom were sent to labor in Rosas' Santa Fé workshop.¹⁰

More serious were the complaints made concerning Rosas' Apache policy. The Apaches were already becoming a serious problem, for although some of the tribes traded now and then at Pecos or with the pueblos in the Tompiro area, the general trend of Apache-Pueblo relations was becoming more and more hostile. During Baeza's term of office the raids had become fairly frequent, but he made no serious attempt to deal with the problem. Consequently the Apaches were emboldened, and continued their marauding adventures. Captain Salazar complained that Rosas not only neglected to prepare an adequate defense, but even failed to organize any counter attacks after raids had been successfully executed. On the other hand, it was charged that he was directly responsible for a definite sharpening of Apache hostility, for during an expedition to the plains of Quivira he permitted treacherous attacks to be made on a friendly Apache tribe during which several of the Indians were killed and others were made prisoners. Some of the prisoners were impressed as laborers in the Santa Fé workshop and others were sent to New Spain as slaves.¹¹ In short, Rosas aroused the Apaches by acts of treachery, and then failed to protect the frontier pueblos when counter-raids were made.

Another group of Indians whom Rosas antagonized were the Ipotlapiguas who lived in northern Sonora. For several years the friars had been interested in the possibility of evangelizing these tribes and their neighbors, the Zipias,¹² and in the spring of 1638 a group of five friars and an escort of forty soldiers commanded by Rosas himself set out for the Ipotlapigua country. The friars regarded the expedition as essentially a missionary enterprise, and they expected to remain with the Ipotlapiguas and the Zipias as resident missionaries in case their labors were successful. But according to available evidence—all of it is hostile—the governor turned the expedition into a venture for his own profit. As

soon as the party arrived in the Ipotlapigua area he forgot his duty toward the friars and their mission and made all sorts of unjust demands on the Indians. He forced them to bring in feathers and hides, robbed them of their clothing, even the garments that covered their nakedness, and threatened to burn their villages if they did not comply with his demands. The protests of the friars against these abuses were without avail. Rosas continued to follow his policy of extortion, and the Indians, who had seemed willing enough to listen to the teachings of the friars, fled to the mountains when they realized the nature of Rosas' motives. The mission to the Ipotlapiguas was thus a failure, and the friars who had expected to remain with them as ministers and teachers returned to New Mexico with the military escort.¹³

Such were the most important complaints made against Rosas on the score of exploiting and maltreating the Indians. The charges were made by his personal enemies and by the clergy, and should be viewed with a certain amount of caution, although there is no doubt that Rosas laid a heavy burden of labor on the Indians and exploited them to the limit. It should be noted, however, that some of the evidence is not so hostile. The charge that Rosas mismanaged the Apache problem was contradicted by Sargento Mayor Francisco Gómez, one of the founders of the province and its most important military figure during the first half of the seventeenth century. In a letter to the viceroy, Gómez praised Rosas' conduct and especially his successful expedition to Quivira and the resolute action by which he had forced the Apaches to accept peace.¹⁴

III

According to the clerical party it was the purpose of Rosas to destroy all ecclesiastical privilege and authority. As an example of his lack of respect for the immunities of ecclesiastical persons, the arrest of one of the friars stationed at Pecos was cited.¹⁵ Investigation of the conduct of the guardian of Taos whom the Indians accused of grave immorality was doubtless another case in point.¹⁶ It was also

reported that during the journey to the Ipotlapigua country in 1636 Rosas questioned the authority of Friar Antonio de Arteaga, commissary of the clergy who had been appointed to the Ipotlapigua mission, on the ground that the custodian had no authority to grant Arteaga the powers of a legitimate prelate. Likewise, it was said that he made certain general statements implying doubt concerning the just authority of the Church as a whole. Friar Arteaga decided that it was necessary to correct these errors as well as to denounce the governor's exploitation of the Ipotlapiguas. In the course of a sermon which he preached on St. Mark's day, he explained that all Catholic princes were subject to the laws of the Church and were in duty bound to defend them. He cited the king of Spain as an example of such a Catholic prince, and in order to press the point home he also stated that although it was possible for a man to be relieved of obedience to the civil law of one state by moving to another state, it was impossible for any man ever to become exempt from obedience to the laws of the Church. In fact, any man who refused such obedience would be a heretic. Angered by these remarks Rosas rose from his place and shouted, "Shut up, Father, what you say is a lie." And with these words he left the services and most of the soldiers followed him. When he reported this incident to Friar Perea several weeks later, Arteaga said:

Seeing that they left without wishing to hear the sermon and mass, and having had experience with the depreciations with which they regard excommunications, I did not wish to deal so severely with them. Instead, I merely told them that in the name of God, whose minister I was, I ordered them to listen; and that if they did not do so, the curse of God and of St. Peter and St. Paul would fall upon them.

The Indians who were present, especially the Christian Pueblo Indians who had accompanied the expedition, were scandalized by Rosas' action. They remarked that if the

governor could call a priest a liar, how, then, could they henceforth believe what the friars taught? ²⁷

The question that finally forced the issue between Rosas and the clergy was the status of the representatives of the Santa Cruzada in New Mexico.²⁸ The Bull was first preached in New Mexico in 1633. Friar Juan de Góngora, the custodian, was appointed commissary subdelegate, and he continued to serve in that capacity when his term as custodian came to an end in 1635. The first treasurer was Capt. Roque de Casaús, who was later succeeded by Alférez Juan Márquez.

From the beginning there had been difficulty. In the first place, Father Góngora failed to present his patent as commissary subdelegate to the cabildo of Santa Fé for formal acceptance. This touched the pride of the local officials and also raised some doubt concerning the validity of Góngora's exercise of authority. Second, many persons could see no justice in preaching the Bull in New Mexico where the citizens were engaged in a real crusade against pagan enemies, such as the unconverted Apaches and Navahos who threatened the existence of the missions. And it was reported that certain friars shared this view.²⁹

In the course of time complaints were made concerning the arbitrary manner in which the commissary subdelegate and the treasurer exercised their authority. The procurator general of the province informed the tribunal of the Crusade in Mexico City that the treasurer was using his authority to obtain special advantages in the settlement of private business operations. The tribunal denounced such action and ordered the treasurer to use his official position only for collections of sums due for purchase of bulls. Father Góngora added to the discontent by publishing an edict on August 6, 1638, imposing the censure of excommunication on all persons who were in arrears on sums owed for bulls.³⁰

But there is another aspect of the general situation which deserves notice. The clericals testified in 1644 that a

certain Juan de Trespalcacios, who had returned to Mexico after a brief service in New Mexico as a familiar of the Crusade, forwarded to Father Góngora a viceregal order guaranteeing to the citizens of the province complete liberty in their private business operations, especially in carrying on trade, and the right of free movement to and from the province. Góngora turned this order over to Capt. Nicolás de la Mar y Vargas, notary of the cabildo, for formal presentation. According to the notary's own testimony, and substantiated by the testimony of others, Rosas considered this act a great affront, and would have sent the notary to the garrote if friends had not intervened. The governor blamed Góngora for the entire incident, and from that moment displayed open hostility toward the friar and the business of the Crusade.^{20a}

Finally in January, 1639, the treasurer Márquez was arrested and charged with "certain grave offenses," and Father Góngora sought to defend him by an assertion of ecclesiastical privilege. The alcalde ordinario, Capt. Roque de Casaus, brought the matter to the attention of the cabildo in a formal petition on January 28. He questioned Góngora's authority on the ground that the friar had never formally presented his appointment as commissary subdelegate of the Crusade before the cabildo. He complained that Góngora had constantly acted in a high-handed manner, disturbing and scandalizing the province with excommunications and interdicts, protecting guilty parties and doing injustice to the citizens, opposing governmental officers and interfering with civil jurisdiction. He also accused both Góngora and Márquez of using their offices and privileges to seize property unlawfully.²¹ The last item was a grave charge. In justice to the accused, it must be pointed out that the clerical faction later stated that Márquez had attempted to force Captain Casaus to give an accounting of funds received when the latter had served as treasurer of the Crusade, and that Casaus took advantage of his position as alcalde ordinario of Santa Fé to prevent such an accounting.²²

Whatever the cause, the arrest of Márquez forced the issue of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. During the early weeks of 1639 the civil authorities entered into an open controversy with Father Góngora and demanded that he give proof of his appointment as commissary subdelegate to the cabildo. Góngora refused to comply, stating that in accordance with his original instruction he had presented his papers to Governor Mora Ceballos when the Crusade had first been preached and that he was under no obligation to present them to the cabildo. Moreover, when the cabildo notified him of the decree of the central tribunal of the Crusade forbidding the treasurer to use his official position for private ends, Góngora countered by declaring that the tribunal's action had been based on false information supplied by the procurator general, and that the tribunal had later restated the right of agent of the Crusade to exercise jurisdiction in the collection of private debts. The cabildo called upon Góngora to present the text of this new provision, but he replied that he had sent all the papers to Mexico by a special emissary. He also reiterated his refusal to present his patents of appointment as commissary subdelegate.²⁸

The immediate outcome of this affair is not known, at least so far as Márquez is concerned. But Captain Salazar and other members of the anti-Rosas group testified that the governor sought to have Custodian Salas order the withdrawal of Góngora from the province, a request which Salas refused on the ground that he had no jurisdiction over a representative of the Crusade. Rosas then banished Góngora on his own authority, and according to our informants the friar died of grief!²⁹

Thus the relations between Church and State had once more reached the breaking point. The clergy were thoroughly aroused, and they made free use of the penalty of excommunication. From 1638 until his death on January 25, 1642, Rosas was under ecclesiastical censure continuously. And the governor, in turn, became increasingly hostile to the clergy and their supporters.

IV

Captain Salazar's list of complaints also included many charges of arbitrary and unjust action toward members of the lay community. It was stated, for example, that Rosas always seized the best of the goods or supplies obtained by trading parties sent out to barter with the unconverted nomads; that he controlled all local commerce for his own benefit; that he seized looms owned by private citizens in order to give his own workshop a greater monopoly over local textile production; that he seized and slaughtered approximately one-third of the cattle owned by private citizens in order to provide food for the laborers in his workshop, or in order to pay for the goods that the Indians of the various pueblos made for him. All these acts of injustice resulted from the eager desire of Rosas to accumulate stocks of merchandise for shipment to New Spain.²⁵ Even the private lives of some of the citizens did not escape the heavy hand of his tyranny, for he was accused of compelling certain persons to marry against their will.²⁶

The cabildo of Santa Fé played an important part in the dispute with Father Góngora created by the arrest of Treasurer Márquez, and during the succeeding two years it actively supported Rosas during the open breach of relations with the clergy. It is apparent that Rosas secured this support by manipulation of cabildo elections in order to build up a faction favorable to his interest, but in doing so he alienated the sympathies of a group of the professional soldier-citizens who immediately espoused the cause of the Church. This phase of the general Rosas episode was of prime importance because it led to an open breach in the lay community itself, and gave the clergy the support of a military clique which became bitterly resentful of the governor's policy.

It appears that members of the cabildo who were in office during the first year of Rosas' term of office opposed some of his policies. Captain Salazar stated in his general petition of complaint that Rosas wished to destroy the

authority of both the Inquisition and the Crusade in New Mexico and sought to have the cabildo join him in a formal denial of the jurisdiction of these tribunals. Three of the regidores, Alférez Cristóbal Enríquez, Capt. Diego de la Serna, and Alférez Diego del Castillo, resisted his demands, and the governor showed his displeasure by maltreating them by both word and deed. Against Enríquez, who was apparently the leader of the dissenting group, Rosas employed physical violence.²⁷

Finding that most of the regidores opposed his policies, Rosas undertook to secure the election of a new cabildo that would do his bidding. This was a fairly easy matter, as he had the right to confirm the annual election of regidores and *alcaldes ordinarios*. The effectiveness of his influence is clearly indicated in the complete support which he received from the cabildo in January and February of 1639 during the controversy with Father Góngora caused by the arrest of Treasurer Márquez. From 1639 to 1641, when Rosas' term came to an end, the cabildo was made up of men who were partisans of the governor.²⁸

The resentment caused by Rosas' manipulation of cabildo elections is clearly indicated by the slurs and insults directed against his supporters by members of the clerical party. One of the friars called the new regidores "those four mestizo dogs,"²⁹ and in 1644 the Rosas faction was described as consisting mostly of "a foreigner, a Portuguese, and mestizos and *sambohijos*, sons of Indian women and negroes and mulattoes."³⁰

Care must be exercised, however, in dealing with these characterizations of members of the Rosas faction. One of the governor's loyal defenders was Sargento Mayor Francisco Gómez, a time-tried citizen who had had wide experience in provincial affairs. Capt. Roque de Casaus, who served as *alcalde ordinario* after the new election, had held the same office six years earlier and, as noted above, had served as first treasurer of the Crusade. The second *alcalde ordinario* was Francisco de Madrid, member of a family

that served the Crown faithfully throughout this early period. One of the regidores was Diego de Guadalajara who was leader of the famous expedition into Texas in 1654. Another was Matías Romero, member of one of the oldest conquistador families, although it must be admitted that the family deteriorated during the seventeenth century. It is perfectly clear that toward the middle of the century mestizos and even negro castes obtained office. It was an inevitable trend, due to the lack of immigration. And on no other occasion were the castes so fiercely denounced. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the epithets directed against the Rosas faction by their enemies expressed personal and political passion rather than any deep feeling with regard to the character and race of members of the government party.

But whatever the facts may have been, it is perfectly clear that Rosas antagonized a group of powerful soldier-citizens. Capt. Francisco de Salazar, whose general indictment of Rosas' conduct has been cited so often, was a member of the disaffected party which also included Antonio Baca, Diego Márquez, and Juan de Archuleta.

To sum up, the most important result of the first two years of Rosas' administration was to arouse the opposition of both the Church and a considerable part of the lay community. The clergy saw in Rosas the arch-enemy of the missions and of all ecclesiastical authority. The discontented soldiers were cut to the quick by his arbitrary governmental policy, and probably by acts which affected their pride. A clerical-military coalition was thus formed, and during the succeeding three years it played a very interesting rôle in provincial politics.

V

The preceding discussion has been based almost completely on evidence and petitions presented by the anti-Rosas party. It is necessary now to review the situation from the point of view of the governor and his faction.

In 1637 and again in 1638 representations were made to the viceregal court concerning the arbitrary manner in

which the clergy exercised jurisdiction, and on one of these occasions substantiating documents were submitted. These documents form the expediente cited as *Diferentes Autos*⁸¹ in preceding chapters of this essay. The first group of papers dealt with an incident of the Oñate period,—the banishment of a soldier from provincial headquarters at the instigation of the Father-Commissary. The second item was the original trial record in the Escarramad case. (See Chapter II). The remaining documents were from the Baeza period, such as the papers on the controversy over the Zuñi mission escort, decrees of excommunication, etc.

To the several groups of documents were appended statements which well illustrate the point of view of the anti-clerical faction. The following is the most inclusive:

[This document] is transmitted in order that it may be seen what an old practice it is for the friars to wield a strong hand in New Mexico . . . and if they are contradicted, they start lawsuits and disturbances, calling [their opponents] enemies of the Order of St. Francis, and denouncing governor and citizens as heretics, as they did with Governor Don Pedro Peralta whom they imprisoned.

In 1638 Governor Rosas dispatched to the Holy Office the testimony and general complaint concerning the misconduct of the guardian of Taos, and took occasion to make certain observations concerning the manner in which the business of the Inquisition was conducted in New Mexico.⁸² And at the same time Sargento Mayor Francisco Gómez wrote a strong letter defending the administration of Rosas and calling attention to the tremendous power and influence of the clergy and the unbridled manner in which they interfered in provincial affairs.⁸³

The controversy with Father Góngora further aggravated Church and State relations, and about the same time another source of irritation was created. The prelate, Friar Juan de Salas, gave orders to the guardian of Santa Fé not to administer the sacrament of penance to citizens seeking it,

and complaints were made to the governor. Rosas issued a formal *auto* summoning the cabildo to a conference for the purpose of discussing the situation. The statement issued by the cabildo as a result of this meeting contained a bitter denunciation of the friars and their alleged abuse of authority. This petition and the papers relating to the Góngora case were transmitted to the viceroy in February, 1639, and were accompanied by a long justificatory dispatch by the cabildo.⁸¹

The most serious complaint dealt with the wide and varied powers enjoyed by the clergy. The struggling lay community found itself under the thumb of three kinds of ecclesiastical authority and of three tribunals, each with its own chief and lesser officials. The custodian exercised the powers of local prelate with authority to grant or withhold the sacraments, to excommunicate and to absolve, to institute ecclesiastical process, and to sentence the guilty. It was said that for the most minor cause the citizens found themselves cut off from the sacraments and placed under ecclesiastical penalties. The sacrament of penance was often withheld, especially during Lent, unless the penitent signed papers praising the clergy and denouncing civil authority. The case of Governor Baeza was cited as an example. The governor and several other persons refused to sign the prescribed papers and were denied confession. The cabildo made a special trip to Santo Domingo, the ecclesiastical capital, to intervene in the governor's behalf. The custodian received them with open discourtesy and apparently refused to entertain their good offices.

The commissary of the Inquisition possessed authority to investigate cases of heresy, to pry into the lives of citizens, and to summon witnesses great distances, merely stating that it concerned the business of the Holy Office. The Crusade, likewise, had its own chieftain and lesser officers, independent of all authority except that of the tribunal of the Crusade in Mexico City.

Each of these three jurisdictions enjoyed special powers and immunities, and each had its notaries and assistants, all enjoying the privileges of the ecclesiastical *fuero*. To make matters worse, these powers and privileges were all exercised by members of one and the same Order, inspired by a community of interest and purpose. Thus, according to the cabildo's complaint, the Franciscans had become "so powerful that, while enjoying the quiet and ease of their cells and doctrinas, they are able to disturb and afflict the land and to keep it in [a state of] continuous martyrdom." Conflicts or differences with one jurisdiction thus became a conflict with all. Excommunications, interdicts, and denials of the sacraments were lightly ordered and, "what is worse," these were frequently issued against the governors and other civil authorities. Moreover, the censures were sometimes pronounced at most inconvenient times. The Commissary of the Crusade, for example, had posted an edict of excommunication against the civil authorities, just at the time when Rosas was preparing to undertake a campaign against the nomads, and had caused confusion in the midst of the preparations. The slight revenue received from the Crusade was more than offset by the fact that it gave the clergy means for disturbing and scandalizing the province. And the cabildo was especially bitter in denouncing the abuse of authority and privilege by officials of the Crusade in private business operations.

The cabildo did not question the inherent justice of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but it did believe that the community was too small to warrant the existence of three separate tribunals. The complaint stated that the Church had as many, or more, officials than the civil government, and that some of these officials, being laymen, were sorely needed as soldiers. And the special jurisdictional privileges enjoyed by familiars of the tribunals made the administration of justice exceedingly difficult. Moreover, the heads of the three tribunals seldom lived in the same pueblo and none of them, apparently, made their headquar-

ters in Santa Fé, so that citizens, when summoned on ecclesiastical business, found it necessary to travel great distances back and forth across the province. Representations had been made to the Father-Custodian concerning abuses, but they had served merely to create new sources of conflict and irritation. And whenever the clergy learned that the civil authorities reported cases of violation of civil jurisdiction to the viceroy, they would clamor that the authorities had thereby violated ecclesiastical immunity.

In addition to the long and bitter complaint about the exercise of ecclesiastical authority, the cabildo also discussed the fundamental economic conditions which caused difficulties between Church and State, particularly the rivalry over lands, labor, and the breeding of livestock. It resented the complaints of the clergy that the estancias of private citizens infringed on the communal holdings of the Indians, and took pains to point out that the friars themselves were in possession of thousands of head of stock which grazed on the pueblo ranges. "Each friar possesses one or two thousand sheep, whereas there are few citizens who have as many as five hundred, others do not have even a hundred, and those who live in the villa do not have farms or livestock." The cabildo suggested that inasmuch as the Crown supported the missions, the clergy should not engage in herding. Let their herds be divided among the poor. Such action would aid the struggling soldier-colonists and at the same time decrease the burden of labor on the Indians, for at every mission numerous Indians were constantly employed as cooks, carriers of wood, grinders of corn, and herdsmen. As many as thirty or forty were sometimes thus engaged in a pueblo of fifty or sixty houses. And whereas the friars all had twenty, thirty, or even forty horses, there were many soldiers so poor that they could not even buy horses and arms. Moreover, the clergy had more arms and weapons, shields, swords, arquebuses, and pistols than all the rest of the land. "We beg Your Excellency to order these arms deposited in the Casa Real in the power of the governor in order that he

may apportion them out in time of need, since there are none in the Royal Armory." Last of all, the viceroy was asked to investigate certain financial operations of Father Perea that had not been regarded as honest and straightforward.

These complaints went to the root of the difficulties between Church and State and indicated once more the fundamental issues: (1) the Church controlled by a single Order; (2) the exercise of wide and thoroughgoing powers over the citizens in every phase of their spiritual and moral life—with no appeal except to far-away Mexico on the one hand or to the local representative of the Crown in New Mexico on the other; and (3) the economic basis of the conflict. The appeal of the cabildo calls forth sympathy for the struggling community, a population of a few hundred isolated on a distant frontier, which supported the labors of the friars by military service and was burdened by the weight of three ecclesiastical tribunals watching every move for signs of heresy and apostasy and wielding the heaviest of ecclesiastical censures.

What were the remedies which the cabildo proposed? In the first place, it sought to have secular clergy appointed to the parish of Santa Fé in place of the Franciscans. The reasons for this petition are obvious, and we can have considerable sympathy for the cabildo's motives.

Second, the viceroy was requested to retain Rosas in office. The cabildo's characterization of the governor is interesting, even though it was doubtless written at the instigation of Rosas himself.

We are in duty bound to inform Your Excellency that our Captain General has resisted these hardships with great valor, and that he has also served Your Majesty . . . in journeys, punitive expeditions, and discoveries which he has made, conquering difficulties, not permitting peace or praise to impede him, holding and preserving the citizens and soldiers in peace and justice; therefore, we beg, Your Excellency . . . to preserve him in this office,

for it will be a great comfort and relief in the labor and afflictions which we suffer.

Finally, the *cabildo* urged the concentration of all ecclesiastical authority in the hands of one person who would serve as custodian, commissary of the Inquisition, and agent of the Crusade. This proposal was highly dangerous because it might give the prelate power equal to or greater than that of the governor. But the *cabildo* thought that the personal aspect of the problem was more important than the question of policy. It stated that in the past the prelacy had been passed around among three or four of the older friars who had long been involved in the quarrel between the two jurisdictions. But all would be well if the viceroy could bring about the election of Friar Juan de Vidania, a newcomer, as prelate.

He will reform these disorders because he is a friar . . . virtuous and of exemplary life, . . . modest, unassuming, and on very good relations with the authorities and citizens . . . He has preached to us . . . as he should, interested only in declaring the Holy Gospel . . . without display of passion and discourteous words.

VI

Who was this Friar Juan de Vidania in whom the *cabildo* put so much confidence? Nothing is known concerning his early career except that he had entered the Franciscan Order in the Province of Michoacan after having been expelled from the Society of Jesus.²⁵ Nor do we have information concerning his service in New Mexico prior to 1638. But from 1638 on, he was openly identified with the Rosas faction. He became the chief aid and closest adviser of the governor, searching the law books and papal decrees for precedents to justify the governor's policies. By the other friars he came to be regarded as a thoroughgoing traitor and scoundrel. His interpretations of ecclesiastical law and custom were said to be so false and inaccurate that one friar declared he should have been refused the privilege of reading

Scripture and the canons. His Latin was said to be so crude that he deserved to be deprived of the exercise of divine offices. He brooked no correction from his superiors, and the friars who undertook to challenge his actions became his enemies.⁸⁶ Rosas and Vidania, in the eyes of the Church an unholy pair: Rosas, "one of the worst men of these centuries;"⁸⁷ Vidania, an evil friar defying the authority of his prelate; the one ruthless and violent, and the other shrewd and clever in defense.

The alliance between the governor and friar dated from 1638. At the meeting of the custodial chapter in that year Vidania was re-assigned to the pueblo of Picurís, and Father Domingo de Espíritu Santo to Santa Fé. But Father Domingo was not *persona grata* to the governor, and the latter called upon Custodian Salas to appoint Vidania to Santa Fé in his place. Rather than cause trouble, Salas consented.⁸⁸

It is difficult to follow the events of the succeeding year and a half in strict chronological sequence. The clergy insisted that Vidania lost no time in espousing the governor's cause, especially in the Crusade affair, and that he began to give advice on legal phases of the Church and State relations with a view to limiting, if not destroying, the jurisdictional authority of the clergy.

The death of Father Perea left the Holy Office powerless for the moment. And as a result of the Góngora controversy, the Crusade was apparently without a legally recognized leader.⁸⁹ Thus there remained only the power of the custodian, and so the next move was to question Father Salas' authority. Sometime during the year 1639 the governor and cabildo challenged the validity of Salas' official acts on the ground that he refused to present his patent of appointment for verification and record. Salas had already been serving as prelate for more than a year, and deemed this action insolent and unwarranted.

The general ordinance of 1574 dealing with the royal patronage had specifically stated that prelates of monastic orders before being admitted to office should give notice "to

the viceroy, president, audiencia, or governor who may be in charge of the superior government of the province, and present the patent of his appointment and election," etc.⁴⁰ Thus there was a clear obligation for the custodian to present his patent to the civil governor on taking office. We have no documents to illustrate actual practice in New Mexico, although Vidania, who acted as adviser to Rosas on all legal matters, stated that Friar Isidro Ordóñez had failed to present his papers and that Governor Peralta had therefore questioned his authority. Friar Bartolomé Romero, an associate and contemporary of Salas, argued that the proper procedure was for the definitors and other friars to receive the custodian, examine his papers, and formally accept him as prelate; and that when this had been done, formal certification of the friar as legal prelate would be made to the civil authorities. Romero stated that this form had been followed in the past without any question. It is obvious that this procedure did not conform to the letter of the law, which provided that the *patent of election* should be presented to the governor. Thus if Salas refused formally to present his appointment to Rosas, his authority could be questioned. But it is not clear whether this was the issue, or whether it had been demanded that he present his patent *before the cabildo*. Romero gave the impression that it was the latter, and if that was true, then the demand was not justified. For although cabildos were sometimes recognized as superior governing authorities of a province during vacancies in the governorship, the cabildo of Santa Fé was not so functioning when the demand for presentation was made.⁴¹

The important fact is that Rosas and Vidania took the position that Salas' failure to produce his papers deprived him of authority as legal prelate, and that his orders and censures had no validity.

In the meantime Vidania's relations with his Franciscan colleagues were strained to the breaking point. Toward the end of 1639 he had a violent disagreement with Friar Alonso Yanes, one of his subordinates in the Santa Fé con-

vent. The custodian immediately sent another friar, Father Antonio de Aranda, to assume the presidency of the convent and make an investigation.⁴² Not long thereafter occurred another incident which brought about a violent breach of relations between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions.

VII

A certain Sebastián de Sandoval incurred excommunication for having posted "infamous libels" against Custodian Salas and other friars. Instead of punishing the offender for such lack of respect for the prelate, Rosas was more cordial to him than before. Emboldened by the governor's favor, he indulged in slander against various leading citizens and their wives, "and dared to do other shameful things, living in a scandalous manner."⁴³ Early in January, 1640, he was secretly murdered.

According to reports sent to the viceroy by the provincial authorities several persons were involved in the murder, including two friars one of whom had predicted the deed. When Rosas attempted to investigate, the clergy protected the guilty persons and he was obliged to abandon the inquiry. Three years later Governor Pacheco reported that Rosas actually arrested Capt. Juan de Archuleta, as a participant in the crime, but was forced by the pressure of public opinion to release him. Whatever the facts may have been, the investigation was permitted to lapse and officially at least the case remained unsolved.⁴⁴

Friar Antonio de Aranda, who had assumed the presidency of the Santa Fé convent, was absent when the crime was committed. Rosas turned to Vidania, and with the latter's consent had Sandoval buried in the Santa Fé church, despite the fact that he had died excommunicate. Father Aranda hastened back to his post and ordered Vidania confined to his cell pending orders from the custodian.⁴⁵

The governor immediately went to the aid of his ally. Taking a group of soldiers, Rosas entered the convent grounds and talked to Vidania through the window of his cell. It was agreed that the governor would forcibly remove

the friar to the Casa Real and appoint him "Royal Chaplain." Vidania, in return for this favor, would absolve the governor and his associates from all the censures that had been pronounced against them during the preceding months. This interview took place on January 12 and was carried out without delay. "By force of arms" Rosas entered the convent and escorted his ally to the Casa Real.

The following day (January 13) all of the other friars who were serving in Santa Fé were ordered to withdraw from the villa, under threat of death, thus leaving Vidania in complete control. On January 14 the Blessed Sacrament was removed from the church to a room in the Casa Real which henceforth served as a chapel for the parish. The convent and the Hermita de San Miguel were closed.⁴⁶

Custodian Salas immediately summoned Vidania to appear and defend his conduct, promising to "receive him with peace and love and let him explain all." When Vidania refused to answer the summons, the prelate declared him excommunicate and apostate, and forbade the citizens under penalty of excommunication to accept the sacraments from his hands. But the friar made light of this action and questioned the legality of the prelate's decrees on the ground that failure to present the patents of his office had invalidated his authority. The custodian then called upon Rosas and the cabildo to hand over the apostate and permit the appointment of another friar as parish priest. This request was denied, and for more than a year Vidania continued to serve as spiritual adviser and leader of the parish of Santa Fé.⁴⁷

The exact chronology of events between January, 1640, and the spring of 1641, when a new prelate and a new governor arrived, cannot be determined with certainty. Consequently the following discussion of the major incidents may be open to some question, although it is based on a careful study and reading of the available documents.

On February 8, 1640, Father Salas summoned the clergy to a conference at Santo Domingo. This action was taken on the advice of several friars. Rosas had made threats,

general and specific, against the custodian and other friars, especially the threat of seizing Salas and expelling him from the province. In certain pueblos the governor had ordered the Indians not to obey their ministers. At Taos the Indians had cast off all restraint, and killed the guardian of the convent, Friar Pedro de Miranda, and two other Spaniards. They had then moved on Picurís, but the friar-in-charge fortunately had been absent from the pueblo. Such were the reasons for calling the conference, as given in a formal statement issued by Salas and his associates on March 16.⁴⁸

When the friars assembled at Santo Domingo they canvassed the situation and decided that they would all accompany the prelate if he were expelled. Rosas, in turn, immediately characterized the conference as open rebellion and fulminated a decree condemning the clergy as traitors to the Crown and ordering them to leave the province within three days under penalty of "fire and blood." Although this order was not enforced, the friars deemed it dangerous to return to their respective missions, and remained in Santo Domingo for several weeks longer.⁴⁹

With the clergy there also assembled a number of prominent soldiers. Although some of them may have been inspired by a genuine concern for the safety of the friars, others were motivated either by a desire for personal revenge against the governor or by fear of his displeasure. Five of them subscribed to the manifesto issued by the clergy on March 16 explaining the reasons for the conference. They were Antonio Baca, Juan de Archuleta, Francisco de Salazar, Juan Luján, and Cristóbal Enríquez. The signatures of Archuleta and Enríquez need no explanation. The motives of Baca, Salazar, and Luján are not clear. But, as will be noted in due course, Salazar and Baca became the effective leaders of the anti-Rosas faction.

In April the friars decided to return to their *doctrinas*, and a formal document recording this decision was drawn up on April 8.⁵⁰ It was further decided to make another attempt to bring Rosas to reason by sending a special mission

of two friars to Santa Fé. For this delicate task was chosen Friar Bartolomé Romero who had been serving for more than ten years as guardian of Oraibi. Because his mission was so far removed from Santa Fé he had had no contacts with the governor, no reason to inspire his displeasure. Friar Francisco Núñez, an aged lay-brother, was to accompany him.

On April 24 Romero and Núñez set out from Santo Domingo, and early the next morning they arrived at the outskirts of Santa Fé. Tired and weary, they entered the Hermita de San Miguel to rest, while soldiers whom they had met outside the villa went to inform the governor of their arrival. Rosas immediately summoned a squad of soldiers and proceeded to San Miguel where the two friars awaited him outside the building. A shameful scene ensued. Rosas began to berate the friars, and finally became so enraged that he beat them with a stick. He attacked Friar Núñez first, breaking a stick over his head, and then, calling for another, rained blow after blow on Father Romero. Soon the two friars were "bathed in blood." And all the while Rosas continued to revile them, calling them liars, pigs, traitors, heretics, schismatics, etc. He finally placed them under arrest and took them to the Casa Real where they were held under guard.

During the remainder of the day there was much coming and going between the governor's quarters and the room in which the friars were being held. Rosas, Roque de Casaus, and others appeared from time to time and engaged in all manner of arguments, legal and theological, with the prisoners, and Father Romero later asserted that he was certain that Vidania was directing and guiding the proceedings. During the day there were threats and rumors of dire punishment—whipping, the garrote, etc.—for the friars. But at the end of the day a formal decree was issued expelling them from the villa. Friar Núñez had been so weakened by the ordeal that he had to be carried part of the way, but about midnight the friars found refuge in a ranch house. The

next day Vidania said mass for the governor and his associates and gave them absolution for their deeds.⁵¹

VIII

These events made impossible any reconciliation between the two jurisdictions, and for another twelve months the breach remained unhealed. There is a remarkable lack of documentary material for this period, despite the fact that numerous reports were made by both factions. Moreover, the Rosas residencia of 1641 and the records of the formal charges that were preferred against Vidania in the same year have not been found. The most important available source is a series of letters, opinions, etc., of Father Vidania, but these contain little factual information.⁵²

The clergy sent two sets of dispatches, one by Juan de la Serna, the ex-regidor, and one by Friar Diego Franco. And during the long interval while they awaited a reply to their appeals, they maintained as much unity and strength as possible. Many returned to their missions, at least for shorter or longer periods, probably spending a few days or weeks in Santo Domingo from time to time. But the three Tewa pueblos of San Ildefonso, Santa Clara, and Nambé were without friars for a whole year. According to the clerical party, Rosas sent a troop of soldiers to these pueblos to expel the missionaries—Friar Andrés Juárez, Friar Antonio Pérez, and Friar Diego Franco—and to drive off the mission herds. And a presidio was established in San Ildefonso.⁵³ But Vidania's version of this affair was much different. He stated the clergy had already left the pueblos when the herds were taken, and he defended the establishment of a garrison in San Ildefonso on the ground that the pueblo had been fortified in defiance of the civil government.⁵⁴ In any case, the three missions were without clergy until the spring of 1641.

Apparently an increasing number of soldiers abandoned the governor's cause for that of the Church. In addition to the five who subscribed to the manifesto of March 16,

we may note the following who apparently took an active part: Diego Pérez Granillo, Juan Ramírez de Salazar, Fernando de Chávez y Durán, and Andrés López de Gracia. And there were many others whose names are not known. Against the soldiers who thus espoused the cause of the Church, Rosas brought formal action, canceled their warrants as officers in the local militia, and declared their encomiendas vacant. In most cases these formal suits were filed, tried, and judgment pronounced in the absence of the accused.

Rosas and Vidania accused the soldiers and clergy of fortifying Santo Domingo and using it as a base whence they raided the countryside, attacked the royal ensign, and interfered with the dispatch of mail to New Spain. Vidania asserted that the *portería* of the convent was made into a guard room, that the friars gave lessons in tactics, the art of fortification, and the machines of war. The soldiers he characterized as "infernal gladiators," and the entire movement was denounced as another Comunero Revolt. Custodian Salas was accused of unfurling the standard of the Faith and proclaiming that the entire province should recognize him as legate of the pope and obey him in place of the governor. But Vidania's excited *pronunciamientos* are so patently prejudiced and so highly colored that it is difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish truth from fiction. It seems fairly clear, however, that the clergy adopted the point of view that the governor forfeited all right to exercise the prerogatives of his office. It was Rosas, they said, who defied law, both human and divine; whereas the friars and their associates were the real defenders of the authority of the Crown. Rosas—another Henry VIII; Vidania—the arch-enemy, leader of the conspiracy, renegade, a sort of local anti-pope! "

Rosas' administration of provincial affairs became at once increasingly arbitrary and less effective. One of his first acts subsequent to the Romero incident was to raze the Hermita of San Miguel.⁶⁶ Sometime during the year 1640 raids were made on the convents of Sandía and Cuarac,

although it is not clear whether they occurred before or after the calling of the Santo Domingo conference. At Cuarac the room that served as headquarters for the business of the Holy Office was desecrated, and this fact doubtless indicates that the raids were directed in part against the memory of Friar Estéban de Perea, who had served as guardian of both Sandía and Cuarac.⁵⁷ At Socorro the sacristy was violated, and Capt. Sebastián González put on the habit of a Franciscan and summoned the Indians to kiss his hand.⁵⁸

It is not surprising that the Indians became increasingly restless. The Taos case has already been cited. The guardian of Jémez, Friar Diego de San Lucas, was also killed, although the circumstances are obscure.⁵⁹ When informed of these cases, the governor was reported to have remarked: "Would that they might kill all of the friars."⁶⁰ He finally made a belated expedition against the Taos, but he took advantage of the occasion to rob the Indians, with the result that many fled from the pueblo.

And during this same tragic year a pest spread among the Indians, taking a toll of three thousand persons, or more than ten per cent of the total Pueblo population. The Apaches also seized the opportunity offered by the bitter factional rivalries to raid the Pueblo area, burning and pillaging. The amount of maize that was burned was estimated at twenty thousand fanegas. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Pueblos began to return to the old ways, to the native religion and ceremonial, for solace and hope.⁶²

During the long months of violence, anxiety, and impatient waiting for news from Mexico, Vidania attempted to maintain the confidence of the citizens, and at the same assure the governor—and himself!—that the cause was just. In a long series of sermons, pronouncements, legal formulae, and letters he discussed and reviewed the situation *ad nauseam*. Some of these papers have been preserved. They are a hodge-podge of citations from Scripture, the Fathers, papal decrees, and the canons, interspersed with outbursts of denunciatory rhetoric.

Vidania defended Rosas' authority to intervene in ecclesiastical affairs. Was he not the representative of the Crown, who in turn was legate of the pope by virtue of the Bulls of Donation and Patronage? The Crown and Council possessed wide authority over the Church, and he, as governor, made one body with them. He had every right to investigate the conduct of clergy and report to the viceroy such actions as infringed on secular authority. But even if some of Rosas' acts were not strictly legal, necessity made the illicit licit.

And by what right did the Custodian and his followers deny Rosas' authority as governor? Had not the popes and learned doctors denounced the error of rebellion against constituted authority? The friars and their faction had disobeyed the governor's order to disband and had thereby declared their loyalty. Treason had been encouraged by the slogan, "Death to the governor!" It was the governor's duty to strike down sedition wherever he found it.

In equally strong terms he denied the prelate's legal authority and justified his own conduct in disobeying the prelate's decrees. Right or wrong, he had remained loyal to the king's representative. More—he had given the citizens the solace of the sacraments, even under the most trying conditions; he had performed the office for which he received alms from the royal treasury. Had the custodian done the same?

At long last the anxious days came to an end. In the spring of 1641 Father Salas was succeeded as prelate by Friar Hernando Covarrubias who had been sent from New Spain with wide powers to govern the local Church. The authority of the Inquisition, which had been in abeyance since the death of Perea, was restored by the appointment of Salas as commissary. And on April 13 a new governor, Juan Flores de Sierra y Valdez, relieved Rosas of office." The day of reckoning was at hand.

NOTES

1. Commissary-General of New Spain to the Commissary-General of the Indies, Mexico, March 12, 1642; Clergy of New Mexico to the Commissary-General of New Spain, Santo Domingo, September 10, 1644; In *Expediente sobre el levantamiento del Nuevo Mexico y pasages con los religiosos de San Fran^{co} de aquella provincia en el que se trata del proceder del obispo D. Juan de Palafox*. 1644. A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7. This *expediente* is the most important group of papers for the Rosas period. It will be cited hereafter merely as A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7.

2. Viceregal decrees, March 11 and June 3, 1636. A. G. P. M., Reales Cédulas y Ordenes, Duplicados, Tomo 11.

3. Libranza, December 7, 1638. A. G. I., Contaduría 734.

4. On September 18, 1638, Perea wrote a letter to the Holy Office transmitting the declarations made concerning the conduct of Rosas, and in it he stated that he had been "mui yndispuesto." *Del P.^o fr. esteuan de Perea Commiss.^o del Nuevo Mex.^{co} con una ynform.^{on} Contra Don luis de Rosas*. A. G. P. M., Inquisición, Tomo 385. (To be cited hereafter as *Perea contra Rosas*.) This is the last paper we have bearing Perea's signature, and in the documents dealing with the events of 1639 his name is not mentioned. It is likely, therefore, that he died during the winter of 1638-1639.

5. (a) "Yten que rrecibio vn grande cohecho de su antecesor francisco martinez de baesa e hizo la residencia como quiso dejando agrauiaados asi a los vecinos como a los naturales." Petition of Francisco de Salazer, July 5, 1641. A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7. (b) "Yten que yendo vnos capitanes del Pueblo de San Felipe a pedir justicia contra su antecesor francisco Martinez de baeza les dio de palos y los atemorizo de manera que otros ningunos se osaron a pedir sus agrauios." *Ibid.*

6. (a) "Yten que a rredundado en los dichos yndios bautizados sin numero de desconsuelo diciendo por toda la tierra en sus juntas y estufas que no les fauorecia dejandolos matar sino que quanto les mandaua hera en horden que le diesen mantas y gamuzas y otras cosas que poseen." *Ibid.* (b) "Yten que el dicho desde que entro en estas prouincias no ha hecho accion que se pueda decir seruicio de Dios nuestro senor y de nuestro Rey y senor natural sino todo en contrad y lo demas del tiempo de su gouierño lo ha ocupado en mandar tejar a los dichos naturales gran numero de mantas y Reposteros grandes carga la mayor y mas pesada para los dichos yndios y despues de tejidas hacerselas pintar y muchas veces estar el dicho entre los yndios pintores tan lleno de carbon el Rostro y manos que solo en el vestido se diferenciaba de los yndios accion de graue Menosprecio a la justicia que representaua y esto que hacia hera para sacerlo a vender." *Ibid.* (c) "Yten que a muchos naturales que en guerras ynjustas se han coxido los ha metido en un obraje que ha tenido y de los dichos se han muerto muchos sin bautismo y tambien han estado de las puertas adentro ynfieles y cristianos." *Ibid.* (d) "Yten que hordinariamente tenia al pie re treynta yndios pintando sus mantas y reposteros sin reseruar los dias festiuos matandolos de hambre de tal suerte que les obligaua a ir a destruir las milpas de los vecinos y a otras a yr el rio arriba a pescar con mucho riesgo de la vida por cuya causa mataron algunos los yndios apaches." *Ibid.* (e) "Yten que ha tenido ocupados vnos yndios mexicanos en tejer y ylar sus telas ympidiendo que los dichos hagan obra para el vien comun y lo mesmo ha hecho con vn yndio mexicano sombrerero que no hay otro boluiendo a reuender los sombreros todo contra el bien comun." *Ibid.* (f) "... demas desto que a oido decir que tiene un obraje en el qual tiene muchos infieles Y los dexa morir sin Baptismo sin querer llamar quien los baptice Y los entierran en un hoyo q. tiene El obraje." Declaration of Friar Francisco de la Concepción, Aug. 25, 1638. *Perea contra Rosas*.

7. "Yten que a senbrado y cogido gran numero de vastimento con grandisimo trauajo de los naturales contra lo dispuesto por su magestad." Petition of Salazar, July 5, 1641. A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7.

8. "Yten depongo contra el susodicho que fue cargado de cuchillos al Pueblo de los Pecos a Rescatar con cantidad de yndios apaches amigos de los naturales bautizados fingiendo que yva a hacer seruicio de su magest^d y como no hallo Rescate se enojó y precipito en tanto grado con el Ministro que le quiso llevar preso a la Villa y le mandaua consumiese el Santisimo Sacramento despues de hauer comido y a otro Religioso lego de setenta años porque le yba y habia ydo a la mano a las palabras feas que decia le hizo cojer y prender con graue escandlo de los naturales y le puso en la portería quatro arcabuceros de guardia y a no haberse el religioso fingido con una necesidad lo lleuara publicamente preso a la Villa y lo mismo quiso hacer con el Padre Guardian del dicho conuento porque no se lo entregaua a no darle por escusa que hera despues de medio dia y que no habia de consumir el Santisimo Sacramento ni fiarlo solo y en la misma ocasion estando predicando por la mañana el dicho ministro le embio a decir que echase los yndios que estaua allí la persona del Rey." *Ibid.*

9. (a) "Yten despongo contra el capitan Don Luis de Rosas antecesor de V. S.^a que les pidio a los yndios capitanes del pueblo de los Pecos que de noche le llevasen mantas y gamuzas y que les dejaría nombrar a ellos capitanes como lo hazian en su antigüedad, los quales dichos capitanes lo sacan de Ydolatria." *Ibid.* (b) "Yten mas q. hauia oido a decir a los indios Capitanes de los peccos. q. se quexaban del dho. Gouern.^{or} q. les hauia mandado recoxer mantas Cueros Y gamuças. Y que se las lleuasen de noche por una ventana, y que el los dexaría nombrar Capitanes de la idolatria como de antes hacian. Y que esto se hauia hecho en casa del propio Gouernador delante del Cap.ⁿ Matías Romero Y del interprete de los pecos llamado puxauí." Declaration of Cristóbal Enríquez, Sept. 11, 1638. *Perea contra Rosas*. This declarant was one of the most bitter enemies of Rosas. In another version of this incident, it was reported that Rosas promised the Pecos Indians liberty to practice idolatry, if they would make an extra payment of tribute. Declaration of Friar Juan de San Joseph, July 23, 1638. *Ibid.*

10. "Yten que hizo otra guerra ynjusta a la nacion Utaca de la qual ni españoles ni los naturales christianos han Reciuído agrauio y mataron muchos y trajeron al pie de ochenta personas de Presa la qual nacion es la mas belicosa de este Reyno." Petition of Salazar, July 5, 1641. A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7.

11. (a) "Yten que el dicho Don Luis de Rosas a consentido a los yndios apaches que llaman Chichimecos en la nueua españa enemigos comunes de la nacion española y de los naturales bautizados el lleuarse grandisima cantida de cauallada y yeguas y abiendo muerto los dichos apaches gran numero de los dichos naturales bautizados no a hecho hornada para remediar semejantes ruinas ni tampoco la a hecho personalmente en casos que deuia hacerlo no guardando las hordenes de su magestad, le a mandado en horden a fauorecer dichos naturales y si mando hacer dos hornadas la vna al capitan Juan Gomez de Luna y la otra al capitan mathias Romero la vna fue a sus Rescates a la Cauellera larga y la otra a cobrar para sí las encomiendas de todas las prouincias de Moqui y a traer esclauos para su obraje y sacar a tierra de paz a vender como constara mas claro por carta suya." *Ibid.* (b) "Yten que en una hornada que hizo por horden del dicho Gouernador a Quiuira mataron gran numero de los dichos yndios apaches amigos y estas muertes se hicieron en compañía de muchos ynfeles enemigos de los dichos apaches accion prohibida por cedula de su magestad en que manda les dejen en sus guerras y los cautiuaron en esta guerra ynjusta y los sacaron a vender a tierra de paz parte de ellos de que han hecho gran sentimiento los yndios naturales cristianos de el pueblo de los Pecos porque con ellos biuián y tenían sus Rescates con que se uestían y pagauan sus tributos." *Ibid.* (c) "Yten que la misma nacion Apache por la guerra pasada quedaron enemistados con los españoles y en otra ocasion en que yua por cabo el capitan sebastian Gonzalez a Rescatar a los sumanas le obligaron a retirarse con perdida del Alferéz Diego Garcia su yerno que lo mataron sin poder resistir al gran concurso de yndios flecheros que acometieron." *Ibid.* (d) "Yten que auiendo los dichos apaches enemigos hecho gran numero de muertes en los naurales baptizados de los pueblos y algunos religiosos y españoles y lleuandle gran suma de cauallada y yeguada en diferentes años meses y ocasiones de su gouierno y del Sarjento mayor

francisco martinez de baeza a quien el suso dicho tomo Residencia jamas a tratado de dichas prouincias si no se Remedia con insensable solicitud y cuidado pues llega ya el atreuimiento y habilantes que han tomado que de la misma Villa y Casas Reales se lleuan los caualllos y en los mismos pueblos entran y matan a sus naturales bautizados y no ha ydo a esta guerra justa ni ha enbiado por quanto no se le seguian yntereses." *Ibid.*

12. In 1632 Friar Martín de Arvide was sent out to preach to the Zipias, the neighbors of the Ipotlagipuas, but was murdered by his servants on the way.

13. Reference is made to the 1638 expedition in the Salazar petition, but the most important source is the document being cited as *Perea contra Rosas*, which contains declarations made by persons who were members of the expedition.

14. "Cuarenta años há que sirvo á S. M. en estas Provincias desde el tiempo del Adelantado D. Juan de Oñate, por cuyos méritos me hizo merced de la plaza de Sargento Mayor de estas Provincias el Sr. Virrey Marqués de Cerralvo, y por la obligación de mi oficio y ser soldado tan antiguo, doy cuenta á V. Exa del estado de esta tierra; y es Señor; que los enemigos apaches están tan inquietos como siempre han estado; pero bien castigados, con que parece que al presente están amedrentados y retirados, y la tierra más extendida por los descubrimientos que ha hecho nuestro Capitán General, y que el del reino de Quivira ha sido aquí increíble: porque siempre había entendido eran menester mayores fuerzas y gastos. Y aunque todos los Generales que hemos tenido han deseado hacer este descubrimiento, ninguno se ha atrevido como nuestro Capitán General, que lo intentó y salió con ello; pero no es mucho, que en sus facciones y disposición de ellas ha mostrado ser muy soldado y ha trabajado comotal." Gomez to the viceroy, Santa Fé, Oct. 26, 1638. Villagrà, *Historia de la Nueva México* (Mexico, 1900), II, Apéndice tercero, 9, 10.

15. Cf. note 8, *supra*.

16. Rosas reported that when the Indians of Taos first accused their friar of immorality he called the matter to the attention of the custodian. The latter ordered an inquiry, but according to the testimony of the Indians the investigation was a one-sided affair and without results. Consequently they renewed their charges when Rosas visited the pueblo in 1638, and he then decided to make a personal inquiry. The testimony revealed a shocking state of affairs. Charges of cruelty, homosexuality, and assault on Indian women were made. Rosas forwarded the sworn evidence to the Holy Office with a covering letter dated November 25, 1638. There the story ends—except that it may be noted that two years later the same friar was serving as guardian of Sandía. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 388.

17. "... Y como se abia tomado tan de proposito el abatir los rreligiosos el estado eclesiastico y la autoridad del pontifice, (diciendo publicamente al dicho P^e Comisario fr. Ant^o de arthiaga en pressencia de todos los soldados que alli no suponía nada ni hera nada ni auia de hacer caso del p^a Cosa. Y que el solo rrepresentaba la perss^a R¹ y hera el todo) y así el dho. P^e Comissario en el sermon trato de la autoridad de la Yglesia y del sumo pontifice Suprema caueça della Y la explico alli a todos y Como todos Los Reyes Y principes Cristianos catholicos heran hijos de la iglesia y la obedecian Y estaban sujetos a Sus leyes. Y heran los braços y manos que la defendian Y amparaban contra los herejes Y demas enemigos que se le oponian Y que entre todos. El que mas se señalaba Y lucia hera el rrey don felipe nro Sr. Por lo cual el sumo pontifice Le intitulaba a nuestro muy Carissimo Y Catholico hijo don felipe Y que aunque un fiel cristiano se saliese de un rreino catholico Para otro, aunque se esimia de la sugesion de las leyes de aquel rreyno de que salia Y se sugetaba a las del otro Reino a que iba, nunca se esimia de las leyes Y obediencia de la yglesia Y el pontifice; porque de no hacerlo así seria hereje y a estas rraçones El dicho gouernador se voluio luego con mucho emfado Las espaldas al predicador y al altar y dijo En Vos alta y que todos La oyeron con mucho enoje Calle p^e que miente en todo lo que dice Y se fue de alli llebandose consigo toda la mayor parte de los soldados q. de quarenta q. heran, solos quedaron doce o trece, y estos fueron rrepreendidos así de el como de sus oficiales porque no se habian salido con el dicho gouernador Como ellos mismos lo refirieron

despues al dicho p^e Comiss^o. El qual viendo que se iban, sin querer oyr el sermon y la Missa Y teniendo experiancia del poco caso Y desprecio en que tienen las descomuniones, no quiso Usar de ese rigor con ellos Sino solo Les dijo que en nombre de Dios cuyo ministro hera Les mandaba que le oyesen. Y que de no hacerlo ansi la maldiz^{on} de Dios y de los ss^{tos} apostoles S. P^o y San pablo cayesen sobre ellos. de todo lo qual no hizieron caso. Y se fueron—Y ansi nunca mas trato el governador de Combers^{on} sino de Su cudizia y rrescates, La qual accion fue de grandissimo escandalo. Ansi para los españoles como para Los yndios cristianos y ladinos que alli estauan y otros muchos ynfeiles que estaban a la mira. Y muchos de los yndios Cristianos decian que como abian de creer Lo que los padres predicaban Y enseñaban Si el governador Les decia publicamente que mentian.” Declaration of Friar Antonio de Arteaga, July 14, 1638. *Perea contra Rosas*. Friar Arteaga's testimony was confirmed by the deposition of Capt. Fernando Durán y Chávez, *teniente de governador* for the jurisdiction of Sandía, Alférez Andrés López de Gracia, and other soldiers who accompanied the expedition. López later became *alcalde mayor* of the El Paso district.

18. Most of the documents relating to the Cruzada episode are found in A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas 35, Exp. 5. For other references, see A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7.

19. Declarations of Capt. Roque de Casaus, Capt. Pedro Lucero de Godoy, Capt. Sebastián González, Feb. 1-5, 1639. A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas 35, Exp. 5.

20. A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas 35, Exp. 5.

20a. Testimony before Friar Tomás Manso, 1644. A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7.

21. Petition of Capt. Roque de Casaus, Santa Fé, Jan. 28, 1639. A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas 35, Exp. 5.

22. Petition of Salazar, July 5, 1641. A. G. I., Patronato 24, Ramo 7.

23. A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas 35, Exp. 5.

24. Petition of Salazar, July 5, 1641, and testimony before Friar Tomás Manso, 1644. A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7.

25. (a) “Yten que el dicho capitan Don Luis de Rosas a atrauesado con sus mercaderias los mas de los tributos vendiendo las cosas a muchos y subidos precios y algunas veces aunque lo hayan pagado hacele tornar a pagar parte de la deuda.” Petition of Salazar, July 5, 1641. A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7. (b) “Yten que a muerto gran numero de vaca mas del tercio de las que ay oy en la tierra entre los vecinos siendo contra lo hordenado por su magestad y esto a sido para sustentar su obraje y otras cosas ylicitas como fue pagar gran numero de Reposteros que echando derramas mando hacer por todos los mas de los pueblos y tambien quito a los naturales los bastimentos en tiempo de hambre a titulo de que hera para socorrer los pobres y lo mismo hizo con los vecinos de la Cañada.” *Ibid.* (c) “Yten que las dichas casas no han estado con autoridad de casas Reales sino que han sido vna taberna publica donde se a vendido vino chocolate azucar especeria y an sido como si fueran zapateria donde se an cosido coletes zapatos coxinillos y cosas publicas de juego.” *Ibid.* (d) “Yten que el dicho gouernador embiando a resgatar a algunos vecinos entre ynfeiles hacia traher la ropa a su casa y con absoluto poder les quitaua lo mejor.” *Ibid.* (e) “Yten que en su libro de quantas de mercaderias de deue y ha de auer ponias mas de lo que se le deuia y con absoluto poder y malas palabras lo hacia pagar.” *Ibid.* (f) “Yten que trato de hacer un fuerte para no dejar entrar mas que a mercaderes y lo trato a algunos del cauldio.” *Ibid.* (g) “Yten que mando quitar algunos telarillos que tenian algunos pobres vecinos los quales los beneficiauan con la gente de su seruicio para bestir su casa y familia sin yntencion de otra gente con fin de que solo perseruerase su obraje teniendo la gente en estufas y enerrados sin oir misa entreuerados cristianos e ynfeiles.” *Ibid.* (h) “Yten que ha sacado muchos carros y carretas llenos de mercaderias en el tiempo de su gouierno para las minas del Parral y en ellos ha lleuado muchos yndios y yndias de poca hedad los mas y se vendieron en el dicho Parral contra lo hordenado por su magestad.” *Ibid.* Rosas' trading operations with Parral and other parts of New Spain are confirmed by documents in the archives of Parral.

Cf. L. B. Bloom, "A Trade-Invoice of 1638." *NEW MEX. HIST. REV.*, X (1935), 242-248.

26. In October, 1640, Polonia Varela and Juan Bautista Saragossa presented formal petitions before the custodian, Friar Juan de Salas, asking that their marriage, which had occurred some months earlier, be annulled on the ground that it had been contracted during duress. Polonia stated that her first husband, Julian de Escaraman (Escarramad?), having been unjustly arrested by order of Rosas, had been held in jail during bitter cold winter and that he had later died of the exposure suffered at that time. Suspecting that she might present a formal complaint against him during his residencia, Rosas had forced her to labor in his Santa Fe workshop where the Indians were kept at work long hours washing and carding wool, and held her there until he could find a new husband for her. She was finally informed that Rosas wished her to marry a certain Juan Batista Saragossa, who was being held a prisoner in the jail. She stated that she had finally agreed to this demand, partly in order to escape the heavy labor of the workshop, and partly to prevent the governor from exacting cruel punishment on Saragossa. During the course of her petition, Polonia referred to the tyranny of the governors of New Mexico, "tan absolutos señores que con just^a o sin ella atropellan con todo." Saragossa, who was an illiterate, stated in his petition that he had been unjustly arrested and thrown into jail where he had been placed in stocks and left without food. He had then been threatened with a severe flogging, or even gibbeting, if he refused to marry Polonia. Both parties asserted that they finally consented to the marriage but only under duress. Custodian Salas admitted the plea and ordered an investigation, but examination of witnesses could not take place until the summer of 1641 after Rosas had been relieved of his office. The witnesses who were called at that time supported the testimony of the petitioners and some of them admitted that they had actually advised the parties to marry in order to save themselves further suffering or possible punishment. On August 19, 1641, the custodian (Fray Hernando de Covarrubias, who had succeeded Salas in the spring of 1641) declared the marriage annulled. He also declared Rosas excommunicate and fined him a hundred Castilian ducats to be applied toward an organ for the Santa Fé Church. Rosas at once served notice of appeal to the audiencia. The documents are found in A. G. P. M., Inquisición 425, ff. 633-644. It may be noted that Saragossa later married a certain María González. In 1656 he was accused of rape against his step-child, the daughter of his second wife. The case was tried before an ecclesiastical court, and on July 1, 1656, the custodian found him guilty and ordered him banished from New Mexico. In addition, his marriage with María González was declared null and void on the ground that his first wife, Polonia Varela, was still living! *Causa contra Juan Baut^a Saragoza y María g^a por incestuosos*. A. G. P. M., Inquisición, Tomo 636.

27. (a) "Yten que es publico y notorio que el dicho antecesor de V. S^a dio de palos al Regidor Xrispoual henrriquez porque no quiso conbenir el susodicho en que se fuese contra el dicho Tribunal y que tambien lo saco de la yglesia el dicho Xrispoual Henrriquez diciendole palabras afrentosas de las mayores de su esposa y contra su honor y tambien fue ocasionado porque no quiso contradecir una prouision Real que hera en horden al bien Publico y en contra del dicho Capitan Don Luis de Rosas y el dicho maltratamiento fue de la misma manera porque no quiso conbenir en que en esta tierra no hubiese tribunales del Santo Oficio ni Santa Cruzada y que no hubiese Cauildo sino que fuese pie de exercito, todo contra el bien comun de esta Republica." Petition of Salazar, July 5, 1641, A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7. (b) "Yten que otros dos regidores el capitan Diego de la Serna y el Alferrez Diego del Castillo lo maltrato de obras y palabras mayores por no querer conbenir en su pare cer." *Ibid.* (c) "Dice mas este testigo que tiene un testim^o dado por El Scriuano de Cauildo llamado Nicolas de llamado Nicolas de la mar, en que Contiene q. El dho Gouer^{or} les mandaua al dho testigo siendo regidor Y a los demas del cauildo que firmasen un papel q. Contenia, q. quitasen y Contradizessen q. no huuiese inquisicion ni cruc^a ni Cabildo, sino solo un Gouernador Y que esto no fue mas que pie de exercito. Y que no saue otra cosa ssino lo dho que es la verdad por el Juramento que hecho tiene El qual siendole leido

dixo q. estaua bien escrito Y dixo mas que por no querer firmar el dho Papel el dho testigo Y otros Rejidores los a traído a maltraer maltratandolos de palabra y de obra hasta querer dar garrote a este testigo." Declaration of Alférez Cristóbal Enríquez, Sept. 11, 1638. *Perea contra Rosas*.

28. (a) "Yten que no se ha hecho Cauildo juridico desde el tienpo que los dichos capitanes Diego de la Serna el Alferz Xrispoual Hnrrriquez y el Alferz Diego del castillo fueron ympedidos a hacer eleccion conforme el derecho tomandose la mano con absoluto poder el dicho antecesor de V. S^a Reprouando la eleccion que se queria hacer en personas benemeritas." Petition of Salazar, July 5, 1641, A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7. (b) "Yten que el dicho gobernador antecesor de V. S^a a sustentado en Cauildo a Don Roque de Casaos hombre que con sus escritos y malos consejos ha causado en este Reyno desde el dia que se le admitio a officios de Republica gravisimos pleitos y alborotos al qual y a otros aliados suyos a sustentado tres años a Reo en el dicho cauildo contra derecho por hallar los conformes y aptos en sus execuciones ynjustas." *Ibid.* Friar Juan de Vidania, the chief advisor of Rosas during this period, admitted that Rosas had used his authority to control cabildo elections. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 595.

29. Fray Bartolomé Romero to the Commissary General of New Spain, Oct. 7, 1641. A. G. I., Patronato 24, Ramo 7.

30. Petition of Alonso Baca *et al*, November 27, 1643. *Ibid.*

31. Cf. note 1, Chapter II.

32. "Y por lo que a mi toca de g^{or} y Cap^{an} g^l destas probincias Suplico a Vm. se sirba de q esta republica sepa la comision q ese Santo tribunal tiene dada, al p^{de} fr estaban de perea porque se estraña mucho el ber aqui estrados de ynquisicion Suprema y q en la yglesia se ponga dosel al lado del ebangelio y aun cubriendo el misal para q se siente el p^e fr estaban con otros dos religiosos q dice tienen su futura todos con abitos de San benito encima de los de San Fran^{co} y ansi mismo le trae otro religioso q el dicho fr estaban a nombrado para su secretario y mas abaxo pone vn banco en q sienta vn alguacil mayor q nombra de la santa ynquisicion y vn fiscal y otro q dice es para llebar el estandarte de la fe todos con sus nombramientos quien no solo ponellos alli si no q esto aya de ser estando yo en la yglesia y ansi mismo tiene dosel en su celda a fuer de Santa ynquisicion y se sienta debajo desde a donde recibe todas las bisitas q se le acen y tiene sobre vna mesa vn christo bestido de luto todo lo qual se les ace g^{de} nobedad a estos becinos y yo dudo de que tenga tan amplia Comision q sin mas ynformacion q su nombramiento se den a onbres q no son conocidos y casados el oficio de fiscal y los demas que dicho ele suplicado en amistad me enseñe su comision y no lo e conseguido y para q se le respete y benere toda la q tubiere suplico a Vm, y de parte destas probincias nos la aga saber." Rosas to the fiscal of the Holy Office, Santa Fé, Nov. 25, 1638. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 388. With enclosures.

33. Gómez to the viceroy, Santa Fé, Oct. 28, 1638. Villagrà, *op. cit.*, II, Apénice tercero, 9, 10.

34. A. G. P. M., Provincias Internas 35, Exp. 5.

35. Commissary General of New Spain to the Commissary General of the Indies, Mexico, March 12, 1642. A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7.

36. Fray Bartolomé Romero to the Commissary General, Oct. 7, 1641. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

38. Romero to the Commissary General, Oct. 7, 1641; Testimony before Friar Tomás Manso, 1644. *Ibid.*

39. There is some indication that Custodian Salas sought to be recognized as commissary subdelegate of the Crusade, and that the civil authorities refused to accept him. See Opinions, letters, etc. of Friar Juan de Vidania, 1640-1641. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 595, ff. 39-405. Vidania also stated that Salas ordered him to serve as secretary of the Crusade and that he refused.

40. Section 15 of the law of patronage, June 1, 1574, given in the *Recopilación*, ley lxiv, tit. xiv, libro i.

41. Opinions, letters, etc. of Vidania, 1640-1641, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 595; Romero to the Commissary General, Oct. 7, 1641, A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7.

42. Testimony before Friar Tomás Manso, 1644; Romero to the Commissary General, Oct. 7, 1641. A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7.

43. "El tercero caso singular es, que auiendo quedado fray Juan de Vidania en el Convento de la Villa por ausencia del presidente, que auia tomado la casa, en el interin mataron vn nominatim escomulgado, hombre malisimo, y que auia escalado vn conuento morada de nuestro Prelado, robado muchas cosas, y puesto por los cantones contra el dicho nuestro Prelado, vnos libelos famosissimos, en los quales le llamaba de borracho extrangero, y otras muy malas ynfamias; dos de estas remito entre los papeles; pues mataron al sobre dicho mal hombre por causa de vnas desuerguenzas de palabras y obras que tubo con mugeres de honor en esta Villa y sus maridos capitanes y de lo principal de la tierra, todo corre como notorio." Romero to the Commissary General, Oct. 7, 1641. *Ibid.* "Yten que a sus ojos se enterro un descomulgado nominatim en la yglesia de esta Villa el qual descomulgado puso un nibelo (*sic*) ymfamatorio con su firma feisimo en todo grado contra el Prelado de aquesta yglesia y en lugar de castigarlo le tuba mayor familiaridad que de antes apoyandole el hecho con lo qual se atreuio tanto que llamaua a los vecinos sartas de cuernos y se atreuia a otras cosas de mucho deshonor biuiendo escandalosamente." Petition of Salazar, July 5, 1641. *Ibid.*

44. "Mataron aleuosamente entre muchos a un Alfez Sandoual y deduzose hauer interuenido en la execucion desta muerte dos religiosos teniendola vno dellos predicha y amenazada y queriendo el Gouernador aueriguar el caso y prender y castigar los culpados ellos se ampararon de los rreligiosos y vnos y otros le obligaron a disimular por no perderse . . ." *Parecer* of Don Pedro Melian, fiscal of the audiencia, 1642. *Ibid.* ". . . con otra (muerta) poco antes auian cometido con el Alfez Sebastian de Sandoual, por cuya atrocidad prendio el Gouernador a Juan de Archuleta, sobre que se alzaron: Y visto la desobediencia le solto, luego, . . ." Governor Pacheco to the viceroy, August 6, 1643. *Ibid.*

45. Romero to the Commissary General, Oct. 7, 1641. *Ibid.* Cf. the following from the Melian *parecer*: ". . . auiendo enterrado en la Iglesia al difunto con tolerancia del Guardian, los otros rreligiosos con orden del custodio le hicieron desenterrar algunos dias despues y le echaron en el campo declararon y pusieron en las puertas de la Iglesia por escomulgados al Gouernador y Cauildo de la Villa de Santa fee a los vecinos que obedecian sus ordenes . . ." *Ibid.*

46. Romero to the Commissary General, Oct. 7, 1641; Testimony before Friar Tomás Manso, 1644. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*

48. The following excerpts present versions of the Taos incident: (a) ". . . que por la declarada enemiga que tiene a los dichos Religiosos y sacerdotes hauia mandado en algunos pueblos que los yndios no obedeciesen a sus ministros por lo qual el pueblo de los Taos se leuanto y mato a su ministro y otros dos españoles con el que se abian ydo huyendo del rigor del dicho don Luis de Rosas a estar en aquel conbento con el dicho Religioso y a todos los mataron los dichos naturales y vinieron los dichos taos al pueblo de los Picureos a hacer lo mesmo lo qual hicieran si hallaran en el conbento al ministro el qual libre de esta ocasion por hauerse venido a San Yllefonso a confesarse el qual peligro se pudo temer en todos los demas pueblos desta custodia por estar unos muy apartados de otros . . ." Statement of Salas *et al*, March 16, 1640. *Ibid.* (b) "Yten que dixo a los yndios de los taos quejandose del ministro, no os quejeys mataldo y los dichos yndios mataron a un religioso que estaua alli de Santa Vida y a otros españoles y destruyeron todo lo mas del ganado mayor que hauia en este rreyno derriparon la yglesia y conuento maculando y profanando todo el culto diuino y despues de aquestos delitos se estubo muchos meses sin castigar tan ynorme maldad y estimulando que fuesen al castigo los vecinos que estauan retirados de sus Rigores y maltratamiento enbio el dicho gouernador Don Luis de Rosas y fue despues de casi acauada la mas de la guerra y lo que hizo fue dejarlos mas aliados por rouarles quanto tenian

hasta la ropa con que se tapauan sus carnes por lo qual se huyeron a la tierra." Petition of Salazar, July 5, 1641. *Ibid.* The date usually given for the death of Miranda is December 28, 1631, but the new evidence clearly places the event in the term of office of Rosas. Perhaps the date should be December 28, 1639.

49. Statement of Salas *et al.*, March 16, 1640; Testimony before Friar Tomás Manso, 1644; Salas *et al.* to the Commissary General, Sept. 10, 1644. *Ibid.*

50. *Auto*, April 8, 1640. *Ibid.*

51. For this unfortunate incident we have a considerable body of evidence. The most important documents are (1) a long account written by Romero on May 4, 1640, (2) testimony of other persons who were present, and (3) the long *informe* of Romero to the Commissary General, Oct. 7, 1641, in which was included a brief version of the incident. All are in A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7.

52. The Vidania materials are in A. G. P. M., Inquisición 595.

53. Romero to the Commissary General, Oct. 7, 1641; Testimony before Friar Tomás Manso, 1644, A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7. The incident of the Tewa missions may have occurred prior to the meeting of the conference at Santo Domingo. Many of the documents list it as one of the series of violent acts which were said to have been the motive for calling the conference. But surely Salas would have mentioned it in the manifesto of March 16 if it had occurred prior to that date.

54. Opinions, letters, etc. of Vidania, 1640-1641, A. G. P. M., Inquisición 595.

55. *Ibid.*

56. Romero to the Commissary General, Oct. 7, 1641. A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7. The Hermita de San Miguel is first mentioned in a document of 1628. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 363. I believe, therefore, that it was the church which Benavides said was built during his term as custodian (1625-1629). For a few years thereafter it served as parish church until the Franciscan convent and church, in which parish headquarters had been maintained prior to 1626, were rebuilt. This was done sometime prior to 1640. The Hermita de San Miguel then was used as an infirmary for the friars, Friar Jerónimo de Pedraza, the physician, being in charge. When Rosas closed San Miguel in January, 1640, he also removed the bells. And now the structure was razed (*derribado*) and the vigas carried away.

57. If these acts of violence had occurred prior to March 16, 1640, it is reasonable to assume that Salas would have mentioned them in his manifesto. On the other hand, most of the references list the incidents as part of the general justification for the Santo Domingo conference. Testimony before Friar Tomás Manso, 1644. A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Most of the testimony simply states that both the Miranda and the San Lucas murders were the result of Rosas' order to the Indians not to obey the friars. But one witness made the following statement which puts the Jémez affair in a somewhat different light: "... y que los yndios de los hemes habian tenido un rebato y acometimiento de los yndios apaches ynfeles enemigos de los cristianos y que en el hauian muerto a flechazos al Padre fray Diego de San Lucas..." *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*

61. Cf. note 48 *supra*.

62. Testimony before Friar Tomás Manso, 1644. A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7.

63. Opinions, letters, etc. of Vidania, 1640-1641. A. G. P. M., Inquisición 595.

64. Libranzo, June 17, 1650. A. G. I., Contaduría 742.

CHAPTER VI

ROSAS PAYS THE PRICE

1641-1642

I

The new leaders of Church and State seem to have made a genuine effort to restore peace and order and to co-operate in the execution of their respective duties. That they achieved a certain measure of success is obvious. The schism in the Church was healed, and the bitter factionalism among the citizens was temporarily lessened. But before long the anti-Rosas party gained a definite advantage, and the spirit of revenge was soon in the ascendant.

Custodian Covarrubias was under instructions to initiate a thorough investigation of the conduct of the clergy and with the advice of the definitors impose proper discipline for proved misconduct. But the result of the inquiry could have been predicted in advance. In the eyes of the Franciscans there was one major issue,—the vindication of the legal rights and privileges of the Church and the authority of the local ecclesiastical officers. And on that basis there were only two offenders among the clergy: Vidania, and a lay-brother, Friar Pedro de Santa María, who had also joined the Rosas faction. "The custodian whom I sent visited his custody, and found that the only guilty persons were the two apostates who were protected in the house of the governor." Thus wrote Friar Juan de Prada, Commissary General of New Spain, to the Commissary General of the Indies.¹

Formal charges were at once referred against the accused, and by autumn the cases were closed. The papers were made ready for transmission to Mexico, and Friar Bartolomé Romero, who had apparently been acting as advocate for the clergy, prepared a long *informe* on the entire situation for delivery to the Commissary General. Prior to the departure of the mission caravan for New Spain in the autumn of 1641, Vidania was taken into custody on orders of Father Salas and sent with the caravan as a prisoner to be

turned over to the tribunal of the Inquisition in Mexico City. But apparently he was never tried. One informant stated that he escaped midway on the journey to New Spain; another, who testified in 1644, referred to him as dead. The final disposition of Santa María's case is not known.³

II

The task which the new governor faced when he took office would have taxed the strength and courage of a robust man. But Flores was ill and lacked the energy needed to withstand the pressure to which he was subjected during the first weeks of his term. At first he made some effort to steer a middle course, but the anti-Rosas group soon won the upper hand. Its leaders were Capt. Antonio Baca and Capt. Francisco de Salazar.

The residencia of Rosas offered his enemies an opportunity to make a scathing denunciation of his administration. Captain Salazar took the leading part and on July 5 he presented a long petition, or bill of complaint, with more than sixty items. The petition contained a condemnation of every phase of Rosas' administration, his exploitation of the Indians, his policy toward the Apaches, his attack on the Church. Most of the articles of the complaint have been summarized in the preceding chapter and extensive excerpts have been given in the notes.

Within a short time Baca and Salazar obtained such influence that even before the residencia had progressed very far the new governor promulgated an order declaring null and void many of Rosas' official acts and restoring all titles, offices, and encomiendas that he had declared forfeited.⁴ The fiscal of the audiencia of New Spain, who prepared a *parecer* on the entire situation for Don Juan de Palafox, the Bishop-Viceroy, stated that this decree was prepared by the anti-Rosas group and presented to Governor Flores for signature. The governor was unable to resist, but before his death he wrote a letter declaring the facts in the case.⁴

It was probably soon after the publication of this order that new elections for regidores and alcaldes of Santa Fé were held. Francisco de Salazar, Juan de Archuleta, Juan de Herrera, and Sebastián de González were elected as regidores, and Antonio Baca and Pedro Lucero de Godoy were named as alcaldes. Baca, Salazar, and Archuleta represented the anti-Rosas party. Lucero was a member of a distinguished local military family. We have no definite information concerning his stand during the hectic days of 1639-1641, but he was probably in sympathy with the governor. González, as noted in the preceding chapter, was an active member of the Rosas circle. Herrera's party affiliation is not known. Thus half of the new government of Santa Fé was a united group, consisting of three active anti-Rosas men, and in Baca they had a strong leader. It is not surprising, therefore, that they were able to impose their will on the other members of the government. And this fact probably reflected the relative influence and strength of the several groups or factions among the citizens.⁵ The pro-Rosas party lacked unity and active leadership, and of course there were many who wavered in their allegiance the moment that Rosas' official authority came to an end.

The residencia had reached only the stage for the formulation of definite charges on the basis of testimony when Governor Flores died, the date being sometime prior to the departure of the supply train in the autumn of 1641. He had realized the imminence of this event and had tried to provide for the emergency. Shortly before his death he appointed Sargento Mayor Francisco Gómez as lieutenant-governor and captain general to govern the province during the impending vacancy.

The death of Flores presented the long awaited opportunity. According to Flores' son, half of the governing council of Santa Fé—Baca, Salazar, and Archuleta—refused to recognize the right of Gómez to serve as governor *ad interim*, and asserted that the governing authority should be exercised by the alcaldes and regidores. This point of view

was contrary to general colonial legislation which provided that in case a governor died during his term of office, the lieutenants nominated by him should govern and that in the absence or lack of such lieutenants, the *alcaldes ordinarios*, until the proper superior authority named a new incumbent.⁶ In this crisis much depended on the attitude of the second *alcalde*, Pedro Lucero de Godoy. Either because of personal weakness, or because he realized that the Baca group had more followers, Lucero failed to take a strong stand. Gómez was pushed aside, and the *cabildo* assumed full governmental authority for itself.

Rosas fully realized the significance of these events and made preparations to leave for New Spain. But the *cabildo* forestalled him by ordering his arrest and imprisonment and the sequestration of his property pending the completion of his *residencia*. To Flores' son, who returned to Mexico with the caravan, Rosas expressed the belief that the Baca group were planning to kill him, and in anticipation of this event he prepared a last will and testament which he gave to Flores to take to New Spain.⁷

III

Nicholás Ortiz was a soldier, native of Zacatecas, who had settled in Santa Fé where he married María de Bustillas, a relative of Antonio Baca. In 1637 he went to Mexico with the mission caravan, and remained there until 1641 when he returned to New Mexico as a soldier in the military escort for the caravan which brought the new governor. Thus he had been absent during most of Rosas' term of office.

On the evening of January 9, 1642, Ortiz arrived home rather late, and found that his wife was absent. He went to the residence of the *alcalde*, Pedro Lucero de Godoy, told him that he suspected his wife was with Rosas, and asked him to go with him to search the house where Rosas was being held a prisoner. Lucero summoned two of the *regidores* and a number of other witnesses and proceeded to execute this request. The first time the house was searched

Doña María was not found. But Ortiz said he was not satisfied and asked to have the search repeated. And this time the suspecting husband found what he sought! Pulling back the mattress of the ex-governor's bed, he found his wife hiding in a large chest underneath it. (According to Lucero this chest had been opened during the first search!) Lucero then took the wife into custody and appointed a new set of guards over the ex-governor in order to protect him from violence.

Ortiz prepared formal charges against Rosas and Doña María, and sought to have Lucero assume jurisdiction in the case. But the *alcalde* refused, and Ortiz appealed to the *regidores*. The latter tried to force Lucero to assume jurisdiction, but without success, and the wrangling continued for several days.

Lucero was clearly in a tight place, and we cannot blame him for refusing to act. He took the position that as a mere *alcalde* of Santa Fé he had no jurisdiction over an ex-governor whose *residencia* had not been completed. He pointed out that the *cabildo* had assumed supreme governing power in the province, that it was acting as judge of *residencia* for the ex-governor, and that consequently jurisdiction in the present instance rested with it. The *regidores* countered by pointing out that Lucero had already imposed his authority by making the formal search of Rosas' house, by taking Doña María into custody, and by placing new guards over Rosas. Moreover, it was stated that two of the *regidores* (probably Archuleta and Salazar) had suits pending against the ex-governor and thus had no right to act as judges in the case.

To these arguments Lucero replied: (1) that although he had taken charge on the night of January 9 he had done so in the presence of two *regidores*; (2) that although he had appointed guards for Rosas it had been with the purpose of protecting him against possible violence; and (3) that the *regidores* had implicitly reasserted jurisdiction by removing these guards at a later date. Although the *regidores* sought to enforce their will by threat of a fine of one thousand pesos, Lucero steadfastly refused to act.

Why had Ortiz appealed to Lucero in the first place, instead of to the *alcalde de primer voto* Antonio Baca? This is explained by the fact that Baca was absent on a campaign against the Apaches in the Zuñi-Hopi area. He did not return to Santa Fé until January 18.

On January 24 Ortiz made a final petition asking Lucero to proceed with the case. The *alcalde* once more refused, and stated that inasmuch as the matter of jurisdiction was in dispute, he and the *regidores* had decided to hold the accused parties in custody pending the dispatch of a report to the viceroy. The same day orders were sent to Diego Martín Barba, Diego del Río de Losa, Antonio de Salas, and Juan González to appear at the home of the *regidor* Francisco de Salazar. There they found assembled Lucero and the four *regidores*. The *alcalde* stated that the *cabildo* had chosen them to serve as jailers for the ex-governor until instructions were received from the viceroy, and that it would be their duty to prevent his escape and to defend his life. Martín Barba, who was designated as leader (*cabo*) of the group immediately protested his unwillingness to assume responsibility for the safety of the ex-governor, and Lucero sought to have him excused from duty. But Salazar, speaking for the *cabildo*, refused to make any changes in the list. The same day the guards thus chosen were taken to the house of Anaya and given custody of the prisoner. Martín Barba refused to accompany the other three guards to inspect Rosas' fetters, and loudly proclaimed that although he would serve as a guard to prevent Rosas from escaping he would not be responsible for his life. But his protests were without avail.

The list of guards is worthy of some comment, for it included three persons who had been actively identified with the Rosas faction. Antonio de Salas had been a *regidor* in 1639, and Diego del Río de Losa had been scribe of the *cabildo* in the same year. And it was Diego Martín Barba who had been in command of the troop of soldiers that occupied the Tewa pueblos of San Ildefonso, Nambé, and Santa Clara in 1640.

Shortly after midnight the following morning (January 25) during Del Rio's watch a band of masked men led by Nicolás Ortiz forced their way into the house. The guards had no opportunity to offer much resistance, and their leader, Diego Martín Barba, apparently refused to participate actively in the few hasty precautionary measures they were able to take. Having gained the house, Ortiz burst open the door leading into Rosas' room, and with a dozen sword thrusts killed his adversary. And this done, he shouted that his honor had been restored.

The murderer immediately proceeded to the house of Antonio Baca and proclaimed his deed. Baca summoned his colleague, Lucero de Godoy, the regidores, and other citizens, and at dawn went to view the body and make a preliminary investigation. He required all of those present to draw their swords. Only the blade of Nicolás Ortiz bore the stains of blood. The arrest of Ortiz and the four guards was immediately ordered. The same day Baca issued a decree prohibiting public gatherings and discussions under penalty of banishment from the province for six years and a fine of one hundred pesos to be paid as a reward to the informer in such cases.

Baca sought to have Rosas buried in consecrated ground, but Custodian Covarrubias refused the necessary permission. The prelate firmly pointed out that Rosas had been under excommunication for a long time and that he had obstinately refused to make his peace with the Church. And so the proud Rosas was taken out and buried in a field near the house in which he was killed.

IV

In February Ortiz was brought to trial with Antonio Baca acting as judge. The first witness was Doña María, the wife of the accused. She testified: (1) that she had been guilty of adulterous relations with Rosas over a period of four years, (2) that after her husband returned from New Spain Rosas had urged her to run away with him, (3) that

Rosas had even urged her to kill her husband, offering to provide her with the means for such an act. She further stated that she had gone to Rosas' house on January 9 of her own accord and that no one had forced her to do so. In fact, Rosas had summoned her, and had threatened that if she did not come he would go to her. Finally, she swore that no one had in any way influenced her testimony or induced her to testify falsely.

The four guards who had been on duty on the night of January 24-25 were then summoned. They described their ineffectual attempt to prevent the crime, and made definite statements to the effect: (1) that Ortiz had done the actual killing unassisted; and (2) that the men who entered the house with him had not been identified because they were masked.

The defense based its case squarely on the issue of personal honor. It sought to prove that the defendant had no other motive for the crime, and that he had taken matters into his own hands only after Lucero had refused in a "frivolous" manner to provide redress in proper legal form. Six witnesses for the defense were called, of whom Sargento Mayor Francisco Gómez and the regidor Sebastián González were the most important.

All of the witnesses testified that Ortiz had been absent from New Mexico during most of Rosas' term of office, that he had brought no formal complaint against the ex-governor, either in the residencia or in a private suit, and that because of his friendly relations with Rosas he had been requested to act as an intermediary for third parties. And they all testified that Ortiz had always treated his wife with honor and respect, and that he had given her no cause for her infidelity. Although the witnesses certified Lucero's failure to accept jurisdiction in the suit brought by Ortiz, some refused to express a judgment concerning his action. Gómez offered some justification for it.

The witnesses were asked if they knew whether Ortiz or any other person had forced Doña María to go to the house

of Rosas on the evening of January 9. All replied that they did not know. But with varying degrees of warmth they recommended Ortiz as an honorable person, of whom it was presumed that he would not submit his wife to such dishonor.

The trial followed the normal course, and on May 8 Baca pronounced sentence. Ortiz was acquitted, but revision of judgment was reserved to the viceroy to whom a copy of the trial record was to be sent. No final action was taken in the case of the four guards. Pending presentation of their case to the viceroy, they were released from jail but charged not to leave the confines of the province under penalty of death. Decision in the case of Doña María was also left to the viceroyal authorities, and it was decreed that in the meantime she should remain in custody and that Ortiz should have no dealings or relations with her whatsoever.

A copy of the trial record was at once made ready for transmittal to Mexico. Reports, letters, etc., were also prepared by both the secular government and the Church to be sent to the viceroy, the Holy Office, and the superior prelates of the Franciscan Order. These papers were then turned over to Ortiz who departed without delay for New Spain in order to present himself before the viceroy. He was accompanied by Nicolás Pérez de Bustillos and an Indian servant named Bernabé.

V

The acquittal of Ortiz was by no means received with universal favor and approval in Santa Fé, but the influence of the Baca faction was so great that it was not deemed wise to register formal protest locally. The alcalde Lucero and Sargento Mayor Gómez decided, however, to send a certain Francisco de Olibera with a verbal message to the governor of Nueva Vizcaya, Don Luís de Valdez. On May 6 Olibera delivered this message to the governor in Parral. On behalf of Lucero and Gómez he stated that it was public knowledge that Baca, Salazar, Archuleta, and other citizens had been accomplices in the murder of Rosas, and asked the governor to arrest Ortiz when he passed through Nueva Vizcaya on his way to Mexico City.

Valdez immediately put Olibera under oath and had him examined in a formal manner. He testified that he had been absent from Santa Fé on the night of the murder, but had later gone to the villa where he had heard Ortiz openly boast that he had committed the deed. He stated further that most of the citizens had been in sympathy with Ortiz, that Baca and the regidores Salazar and Archuleta had been the declared capital enemies of Rosas, and that they had aided and abetted the murderer. Olibera also declared that persons who had regretted the affair had not dared to speak out, lest they suffer the same fate.

On May 8 the governor summoned another witness, Andrés López Zambrano, a citizen of Santa Fé then residing in Parral. He deposed that he had heard Baca, Enríquez, "and their allies and confederates" boast on various occasions that they were going to kill Rosas. And he told how the ex-governor had protested the seizure of his property by Baca acting in the name of the cabildo and had warned the alcalde that the king would call him to account. To which Baca was said to have replied:

The king and his lordship are far away. Until they come we will do as we please. And when they do come, we have strong *peñoles* where we can take refuge.

López further stated that for a time Rosas had lived in his (López's) house, apparently after Flores took office, but Baca and his confederates had told him to put the ex-governor out; and fearing violence at their hands he (López) had fled from the province. A third witness, an Indian servant recently arrived from New Mexico, declared that he had heard Ortiz openly admit the crime.

Governor Valdez immediately issued orders to all the local officials of Nueva Vizcaya to effect the arrest of the murderer. Within a few days he was seized and taken to Parral, together with his two companions. When brought before the governor, Ortiz freely admitted his crime, and told the familiar story of the events of January 9 *et seq.* as justi-

fiction for it. He also identified the masked friends who had accompanied him on his mission of death as Juan Ruiz, Manuel de Peralta, Luis Martín, and Pedro de Chávez [y Durán?], but he insisted that he alone had done the actual killing. He denied, however, that he had been persuaded by any other person to commit the crime. He also denied that he belonged to any faction, but, on questioning, admitted that his wife was related to both Antonio Baca and Juan de Archuleta.

Formal charges were now preferred against Ortiz, and pending trial he was committed to jail. A copy of the Santa Fé trial record was incorporated with the proceedings, and then the governor summoned the two companions of Ortiz to be examined. Nicolás Pérez de Bustillas made two very important admissions: (1) that he had heard it publicly stated in Santa Fé that the wife of Ortiz had been placed in Rosas' house, in order that she might be found there, and thus provide a motive for killing the ex-governor; (2) that he had heard both Antonino Baca and Cristóbal Enríquez say that they would kill Rosas. Bernabé, the Indian servant, testified merely that he had heard Ortiz admit the crime.

The son of Juan Flores de Sierra y Valdez, late governor of New Mexico, was now summoned. The witness told the already familiar story of the usurpation of authority by the *alcaldes* and *regidores* after the death of his father, and Rosas' fear that Baca and the others planned to kill him. And when summoned again two days later, Flores repeated the story with a few minor additions.

On May 21 the defendant was called again for further questioning, and he made two significant additions to his former statement. He specifically named Antonio Baca, Cristóbal de Enríquez, Diego Márquez, and Alonso Ramírez as accomplices, declaring that they had advised and persuaded him to commit the murder and that on the night of the crime Enríquez, Márquez, and Ramírez had actually guarded the entrance to the street leading to the house where Rosas was imprisoned. But Ortiz again firmly denied

that he or any other person had "planted" his wife in Rosas' house.

On May 23 Governor Valdez promulgated a decree to the effect that inasmuch as the province of New Mexico was "subject and subordinate" to the viceroy, notice should be given to His Excellency. But while waiting for instructions Valdez continued with certain routine phases of the case, such as appointing an attorney for the accused and the ratification of testimony.

A viceregal order to proceed with the case was finally received, and on September 12 Valdez pronounced sentence. Ortiz was condemned to be hanged, following which his head and right hand were to be cut off and nailed to the gibbet. The defendant immediately filed an appeal which was granted in due form.

The result of this appeal is not known. Apparently the case was still pending when Ortiz escaped from jail some months later. And there the documentary information concerning the career of this unfortunate soldier ends.

VI

There are certain aspects of the Ortiz case which merit some discussion and comment. To what extent was the entire episode a deliberately planned plot? Was Doña María "planted" in the Rosas house as a part of such a plot? To what extent were Baca, Salazar, and other members of the anti-Rosas party responsible for the crime?

It is perfectly obvious that Rosas had made a number of bitter personal enemies, and that the leaders of this group were Baca, Salazar, Archuleta, Ramírez, and Enríquez. Archuleta had been arrested as a possible accomplice in the Sandoval murder. Enríquez had been deprived of his place as regidor, and had suffered physical violence at the hands of Rosas. The grievances of the other three are not known, but in one way or another Rosas alienated them. All five signed the manifesto of March 16, 1640, in which Custodian Salas and the clergy justified the Santo Domingo con-

ference. Salazar was apparently the leading petitioner of the anti-Rosas party in the Rosas residencia. And it was Baca, Salazar, and Archuleta who refused to recognize Sargento Mayor Francisco Gómez as governor *ad interim*, and then seized power for themselves in the name of the cabildo. Their career followed a perfectly logical course, and the motivating element was bitter opposition and enmity for Luís de Rosas.

Let us turn now to the role of Doña María and Ortiz. It is clear that there was a considerable amount of public rumor and belief that Doña María was merely used as a pawn in a malicious plot. Otherwise why did she have to deny it? And why did the attorney for Ortiz in the Santa Fé trial make this point one of the six questions in the interrogatory by which defense witnesses were examined? Moreover if the liaison between Rosas and Doña María had been going on for four years, as the lady admitted, it is reasonable to assume that it would have been generally known in Santa Fé, where the families were so closely intermarried and where gossip was one of the chief diversions of all classes. It is too much to expect that Ortiz would not have learned his wife's guilt the moment he returned to New Mexico in the spring of 1641 instead of several months later. And if he was the jealous and honorable husband that the defense case tried to prove him to be, would he not have sought vengeance sooner? There was also something too legal, too punctilious in the actions of Ortiz. He made sure that the discovery of his wife in Rosas' room would be in the presence of the alcalde; he brought formal legal action and finally took matters into his own hands only when the channels of justice had been blocked; and on the night of the murder he hastened to declare his deed to the alcalde Baca. And why was it that on the first search of Rosas' house Doña María was not found, whereas on the second search Ortiz found her in the very chest that had been empty on the first search?

Perhaps Baca found it necessary to wage a campaign against the Apaches and thus be absent from Santa Fé early

in January, 1642, but as a result of his absence the suit of Ortiz for redress was filed before Lucero,—and naturally it would be better for Lucero to try Rosas than an open enemy like Baca! The same sort of suspicion is present with regard to the persons selected on January 24 to act as Rosas' jailers. Was it not dangerous to choose three former Rosas men? The excuse was made that the men who were designated were unmarried, and hence more eligible for service than others. But did the Baca faction include no bachelors? It is much simpler to assume that Rosas men were chosen in order that they could be blamed for failure to defend Rosas from attack. It should be noted that the guards were given definite instructions that it was their duty to protect Rosas, as well as prevent his escape. And of course the murder occurred less than twenty-four hours after the guards assumed custody of the ex-governor.

In short, there are many things which point to the probability of a definite plot by Baca and his associates to cause the death of Rosas and make trouble for his former supporters. And the testimony of Ortiz in Parral, in which he definitely mentioned Baca as one of the persons who had "advised and persuaded" him, is confirmatory evidence.

To the end Ortiz refused to admit that his wife had served merely as a pawn in the game, but that proves nothing. To have admitted it would have destroyed the plea of injured honor and would have utterly sealed his doom.

(To be concluded)

NOTES

1. Prada to Maldonado, March 12, 1642. A. G. I., Patronato 247, Ramo 7.
2. Prada to Maldonado, March 12, 1642; Testimony before Friar Tomás Manso, 1644. *Ibid.*
3. Decree, July 16, 1641. *Ibid.*
4. *Parecer* of Melian, ante July 25, 1642. *Ibid.*
5. Melian stated that out of 120 soldiers and citizens 73 went over to the anti-Rosas party during the tragic last year of the governor's administration.
6. Cf. Recopilación, ley xii, tit. iii, lib. v, and notice of numerous earlier laws on which the section was based.
7. Juan Florés de Sierra y Valdez, *el mozo*, referred to the situation created by his father's death in two depositions made before the governor of Nueva Vizcaya on

May 19 and 21, 1642. I quote extensively from each: (a) "En los dhas minas del parral en d^a y nueve dias del mes de mill y seis^{as} y quarenta y dos años . . . el capⁿ j^o flores de sierra e baldes . . . dijo que sabe y puede decir es que conoze al dho nicolas ortiz q esta preso en la carcel publica destas minas porque entro a el nuebo mejico por soldado de su compania y en la del sarjento mayor joan flores de baldes gobernador y capitan jeneral que fue de las Probincias de el nuevo mexico a donde aviendo llegado este t^o con el dho gobernador joan Flores de baldes su padre bio en las cassas rreales de la billa de santa fee a el jeneral don luis de rroças gobernador y capitan jeneral que fue de aquellas Probincias donde estaba ejerciendo los dho cargos Y rrecibio el dho su padre a el ejercicio de los dhos cargos y estandole tomando rresidencia murio el dho gobernador su padre Y abiendo dejado nonbrado Por ssu teniente de gobernador y capitan jeneral de aquellas Probincias a el sarjento mayor francisco gomez y para que acabase de tomar la rresidencia al dho don luis de rroças la mitad de el cabildo como fueron antonio baca alcalde ordinario e francisco de salazar e joan de arechuleta rrejidores no quisieron admitir ni obedecer al dho francisco gomez teniente de gobernador y Capⁿ jeneral nombrado por el dho su padre joan flores de baldes e bio este t^o que despues de algunos dias el dho gobernador don luis de rroças trato de salir a la Z^d de mexico, teniendo noticia dello el alcalde antonio baca pusso presso en la casa de almaçan escribano al dho don luis de rroças e le embargo todos sus bienes e mulas y cavallos y este t^o le bio e bisito en la dha prision y despues algunos dias estando este t^o para salir de aquella tierra bolbio a bisitar al dho don luis de rroças en la dha casa y prision y al despedirse de el y tratando de su caussa dijo a este testigo el dho don luis de rroças q estaba aciendo actos de contricion Porq. temia y corria boz jeneral q le abian de matar ssus enemigos en la prision donde estaba luego q saliesen los carros q estaban proximos para salir a estas probincias de nueba vizcaya y nueba españa en los quales este t^o salio y era pp^{co} e notorio que el dho don luis de rroças tenia muchos enemigos en la dha villa de santa fee e probincias de la nuevo mexico e particularmente lo eran el alcalde antonio baca e los dhos rrejidores francisc de salazar e joan de arechuleta." (b) En las dhas minas del parral el dho dia V^{te} y uno de mayo de mill y seis^o y quarenta y dos años . . . el capitrⁿ don jun flores de ssierra y baldes . . . siendo preguntado por el tenor de la cabeça de proceso dijo que conocia a nicolas ortiz q esta preso en la carzel pp^{ca} destas minas Porque le bio y comunico desda la Z^d de mexico asta la dha probincia del nuevo mex^{co} y hilla de santa fee porq fue por soldado de la escolta de los carros del rrey nro señor e tambien le comunico en la dha probincia Y assi mismo conocio al jeneral don luis de rroças Gobernador y Capitan jeneral q fue de la dha probincia a donde le bio y comunico muchas bezes y quando salio este testigo de aquella probincia dexo presso al dho don luis de rroças por orden de antonio baca y de algunos rrejidores de la dha v^a Por Pleitos de dependencias que tenia sobre su rresidencia con muchas Personas de aquella probincia q la estaba dando ante el Capitan y sarjento mayor joan flores de baldes gobernador y Cappⁿ xeneral q le sucedio en los dhos cargos y la dha prision Ycieron despues de muerto el dho joan flores de baldes y le secretaron todos sus bienes e los llebaron la qual dha priss^{on} y secreto bio este t^o acer al dho don luis de rroças Porq avnque este t^o fue nombrado en tiempo por dho gobernador y Capitan jeneral joan flores de baldes Por su lugarteniente no le obedecian a este t^o ni tanpoco al sarjento mayor francisco gomez a quien asi mismo el dho gobernador estando enfermo Le nombro por su lug^r teniente, diciendo el dho antonio baca alcalde ordinario y los rrejidores arechuleta y francisco de salazar y alonso rramirez e xpbal enriquez y otras muchas Personas q seguian el bando del dho antonio baca ellos abian de gobernar como lo yCieron alçandose con el gobierno despues de muerto el dho gobernador joan flores de baldes sin querrer obedecer a ninguno de los dhos tenientes aunq el alcalde Pedro Lucero de godoy los admitia por bersse solo y sin fuerças quedo gobernando el dho cabildo y alcalde antonio baca y este t^o biendo la poca obediencia que tenian al dho joan flores de baldes e stando enfermo Prebiniendo algun mal suceso como le amenaçaban cada dia los de la parte del dho antonio baca pidio liz^a al dho gobernador Para salirse de aquella probincia como se la dio Y despues de muerto abiendo Ydo a bisitar a la prission donde estaba el dho don luis de rroças Y a despedirse del para benirse en

los carros del rrey el dho don luis de roças dio a este testigo con todo secreto el testamento q tiene entregado a su señoria y le dijo a este tº lo trajese a la nueva españa Porque tenia por cierto que ssus enemigos Le abian de matar en aquella prision como es ppº e notorio le mataron y q la dha muerte la yço el dho nicolas ortiz Preso en la carzel deste rreal ayudado e fomentado de otras Personas." *Criminal contra Nicolas Ortiz, vecino de la Provincia de la Nuevo Mexico, por aver muerto al general Don Luis de Roças, govºr y capitan general que fue de dha Provincia.* 1642. This document was recently found in the archives of the city of Parral, Mexico, by Sr. D. José G. Rocha, editor of *El Correo de Parral*, to whom I am indebted for a typewritten copy. The document consists of a copy of the record of the trial of Ortiz in Santa Fé for the murder of Governor Rosas, and the record of the re-trial of Ortiz by the govenor of Nueva Vizcaya in Parral.

8. The discussion of the Ortiz case is based entirely on the Parral document. No further citation of the document will be made.

BOOK REVIEWS

Monterrey en la historia y en la leyenda. By Vito Alessio Robles. (México, Antigua Librería Robredo de José Porrúa e Hijos, 1936; 266 pp., illustrated, maps.)

Monterrey, the industrial capital of Mexico and after Mexico City and Guadalajara the third largest city of the republic with a population of 160,000, had its first humble beginnings back in 1581, some six years after Santiago de Saltillo had been established as the most northern outpost of the wave of colonization that followed in the wake of the pioneer miners who were pushing up over the great central plateau. Monterrey, curiously enough, was not born of this plateau advance, but of a new movement started northward from the Pánuco under the leadership of the converted Portuguese Jew Carvajal, who may have dreamed of founding in this New Kingdom of León a new Jewish fatherland.

Extremely interesting reading, indeed, is the account of the checkered career of the first founder of Monterrey. What dramatic contrasts in the light and gloom of his later years when, after having received from the bigoted Felipe II the right to explore and to colonize the vast "tragic square" of Nuevo León, he fell into the clutches of the Inquisition because of jealousies aroused over the wide-flung jurisdiction that was legally his but which, due to the extreme ignorance of the Peninsular officials concerning the geography of New Spain, brought Carvajal into open conflict with others who claimed jurisdiction within his dominions.

This first colonization of Monterrey soon failed, largely, says the author, because Jews by nature are not warlike and because the followers of Carvajal disliked the hard labor of tilling the soil; those early founders, therefore, turned to the hunting of the nomad Indians of the region, selling them to the mine operators and to the landed proprietors. Thus began the long bloody struggle between white man

and red that came to an end only during the last century, a struggle that retarded the development of Nuevo León and that resulted in the complete extermination of the aborigines of northeastern Mexico, "a result to be lamented from the sentimental point of view, but one, of course, that was responsible for the great racial unity of the three states mentioned [Coahuila, Nuevo León, Tamaulipas], and responsible also, beyond question, for their rapid progress, since they do not have about their necks, like the rest of Mexico, the heavy millstone of an Indian population outside of the pale of civilization."

Monterrey was founded a second time by Diego de Montemayor, former mayor of Saltillo, who had been appointed lieutenant governor and captain general of the new kingdom by Carvajal. Upon the latter's death Montemayor assumed command, and in mid-September of 1596 he set out with a caravan to begin anew the settlement abandoned by the companions of Carvajal. Alessio Robles points out that those "ignorantes" should be forever silenced who still believe that the actual inhabitants of Monterrey descend from Jews.

Because of constant Indian warfare throughout the colonial period, Monterrey remained a frontier settlement and a military camp; even after Mexican Independence Indian scalps brought a most attractive remuneration. But aside from this routine strife, life moved along at a monotonous pace. It seems that from its very beginnings Monterrey was destined to become a business center, and legend and tradition could not flourish where life was a serious, practical matter. Her past is not embellished with that wealth of popular lore that makes so fascinating the colonial years of Acapulco and Saltillo.

Monterrey was of but passing importance in all of the many struggles of the 19th and early 20th centuries. The decisive battle of the Mexican War in the north was fought at Saltillo and the great conflict of 1910 and subsequent years raged far to the west on the central plateau.

The city grew rapidly toward the close of the last century. Iron and steel foundries, the famous Cuauhtémoc Brewery, and the renowned glass works sprang up as its principal industries, employing over 25,000 people. With the coming of the railroad in 1882, connecting the city with Laredo and later with the capital and Tampico, Monterrey became the leading economic center of the north. And today the Pan-American highway, which opened Monterrey to American tourists almost a decade ago, serves as another vital link of communication for the capital city of Nuevo León.

Vito Alessio Robles has written another fine work along the lines he laid out in his previous books on Acapulco and Saltillo. Monterrey, for reasons implied in this brief review, has never had for the lover of the truly Mexican scene the tremendous appeal of most other Mexican cities, but through the efforts of this genial historian one sees the city in a new light because "its stones have spoken to the eyes of the spirit."

JOHN E. ENGLEKIRK.

University of New Mexico.

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936, I-[VII] vols. Edited by the Rev. Paul J. Foik, chm. Texas Knights of Columbus historical commission. Vol. I: *The mission era: the finding of Texas, 1519-1693*, by Carlos E. Castañeda. (Austin, Von Boeckmann-Jones Co., 1936, 444 pp., illus., map, index. \$5.00). Vol. II: *The mission era: the winning of Texas, 1693-1731*, by Carlos E. Castañeda. (390 pp., illus., map, index. \$5.00.)

These are the first two of seven volumes which, together, constitute "the Centennial offering of the Catholics of the State of Texas as a memorial to mark this year of jubilee." Sumptuously bound in purple and gold embossed fabrikoid, royal octavo in size, with contents which are the result of widely extended and long continued archival research, the

series when completed will be a contribution to Texas history of which its sponsors may well feel proud.

The first two volumes, here reviewed, have been prepared by Dr. Castañeda, Latin-American librarian at the University of Texas, and range in time from 1519 to 1731. His portrayal of the mission era makes a fascinating record, supported by footnotes and a formidable list of sources. At the same time it may be remarked that in portrait-painting the deft handling of light and shade may make great differences in the final result. In the work under review, many readers will feel that, at some points, the author has manipulated his sources so as to glorify and aggrandize his theme instead of confining himself to a straight-forward historical portrayal. A few of the resulting revisions of Southwestern history offered by Dr. Castañeda will be mentioned.

Despite the evidence of various early maps, the Rio de las Palmas is identified as the Rio Grande (p. 11 *et seq.*)—which enables the author to claim for Texas the first city council “of any city within the present limits of the United States.” (p. 22) It further results that Nuño de Guzmán as governor of the Pánuco-Rio Grande (de las Palmas) region was actually “royal governor of Texas” (p. 33, preface), and later we find “Cortés still planning to colonize Rio Grande,”—meaning the Rio de las Palmas. (p. 43)

The most remarkable theory advanced is that which locates “Quivira” in the Texan Panhandle. Dr. Castañeda follows very closely the reasoning stated some years ago by David Donoghue in discussing the route followed by Coronado’s expedition, but many readers will believe that Kansas has a stronger claim for the site of Quivira than Texas. Our author several times emphasizes the fact that the entire expedition with several thousand head of grazing stock made the journey from Tiguex to Palo Duro Cañon. This took thirty-five days. Here the Spaniards were informed by natives that Quivira lay forty days’ journey to the north, and Coronado, after sending back most of his army and all the livestock, turned north with thirty horsemen and possibly a

few men on foot. The reasonable inference is that this little band traveled as far in the next thirty days as the natives indicated by forty days' journey; but (p. 106) we are asked to believe that, unhampered by livestock, they then averaged a distance of only about two miles a day and therefore Quivira lay in what is now Texas! One feels like adding: *quod erat demonstrandum*. But after all, this is not as bad as Father Pichardo whose treatise argued Coronado clear into eastern Texas—and then failed to return him to Tiguex. As a corollary of the above, Fray Juan de Padilla becomes the "first martyr of Texas." (p. 111)

In his second volume, in a somewhat similar way, Dr. Castañeda questions (II, 332) the identity of the Jesús María river with the Platte, and routes both the Velarde and Villasur expeditions, 1719 and 1720, through the Panhandle. (II, map and text)

There was no Fray Juan de la Cruz (pp. 94, 110, 112) with Coronado, unless, as Father Shea suggested many years ago, this was the "name in religion" of Luís de Escalona. Puaray and Sandía were distinct pueblos (pp. 168, 174) and so were Galisteo and San Cristóbal (p. 175). El Paso del Rio del Norte was not the river-crossing but where the river broke through the mountains (pp. 187, 243). The name Cíbola, originating locally at Zuñi, expanded to include the other Pueblo provinces *and the great plains*. The American bison, found nowhere else in the western world, derived its name from "the plains of Cíbola," not vice versa (p. 190). Enrique Martínez was not with Oñate (p. 194) but was a cartographer in Mexico City and based his map on information furnished him.

It is hardly correct to think of Peñalosa as wandering in Europe (p. 279). After he escaped the toils in Mexico City he sailed ostensibly for home, but transshipped in the Canaries and went directly to London where, from the summer of 1669, he lived on gratuities and tried to engage the English court in his schemes against New Spain. In 1673 he transferred his intriguing to Paris. According to the arrangement finally made with him and La Salle in Paris, Peñalosa

was to follow La Salle the next year with reinforcements. If the French court had carried out this plan vigorously, Texan history might have read quite differently.

However the reader may disagree with Dr. Castañeda on details such as those above indicated, he will feel that this series of volumes promises to be a very definite and valuable contribution to Texas history. The claims summarized in the preface of Volume I need some pruning, but in large measure these first volumes justify the statement in the second volume preface that "a careful search of the numerous manuscript sources gathered by the University of Texas and the Texas Knights of Columbus Historical Commission in the last twenty years has made it possible for the writer to reveal for the first time many details and facts little known or ignored entirely heretofore. It is the purpose . . . to present a connected narrative of life in Texas . . . The history here presented is much more than that of the missions in Texas. It is rather as complete a narrative of events as the author has been able to weave together from all the sources at his command."—L. B. B.

Grand Prairie. By James K. Greer. (Tardy Publishing Company, Dallas, Texas, 1935; 284 pp.; illustrations, index. \$2.50.)

Some men write histories of the world, other less ambitious write only of nations, while still others confine themselves to the story of a single state or political sub-division of a nation. The author of *Grand Prairie* restricts himself to the presentation of some of the economic and social conditions and movements of the Grand Prairie region of Texas between 1850 and 1890. The book is, therefore, a history of frontier days in several of the North Central counties of Texas during a forty year period. In order to make the story more real and vivid, it is told in the first person by a typical product who lived and grew up during the days of the Grand Prairie pioneers.

Beginning Chapter I, entitled "On the Grand Prairie," the author writes: "In 1855, when I was only five years of

age, my parents decided that we would move further west." To go further west in 1855 one had only to move across two counties into Bosque County, Texas. As a boy, the author suffered and sang like any other son of the pioneers. There were flowers and larks in the Spring, and the dreaded cold sweeping wind or "northers" in the Fall and Winter. In the summer drouth there were prairie fires to be put out by dragging a fresh and bleeding bull hide back and forth along the edge of the fire. Animals such as the antelope, deer, buffalo, bear, and wildcat roamed the country, to say nothing of the long-legged elongated eared jack-rabbit and such smaller game. At night were heard the hoot of the owl, as well as the hoot of the "hostile" Indian as he crept through the dark.

The class of people who lived in the Grand Prairie Country ranged from the immigrant Kentucky Colonel type of the old or deep South to the hill billy or sand hill fellows who came in from Arkansas or Tennessee. Land sold all the way from one dollar to three dollars and fifty cents an acre. The usual charge for board and room was six dollars a month, while Woodman's Cherry Expectorant sold for one dollar a bottle. Flour was seven dollars a hundred pounds.

Social life was crude, but there were the usual dances, games, and camp meetings under brush arbors.

Besides the deer and buffalo, the Texans had to contend with many varmints and pests called "predators," such as the ringtailed cat, the leopard cat, the bob cat, and the cougar. Rattlesnakes were present in altogether too great numbers for the safety and calm comfort of the settlers.

Then came the Civil War, followed by the hateful days of Reconstruction.

Throughout the whole period the Indians gave the pioneers plenty of trouble with their stock stealing raids and their frequent "scalping parties." The friendly Tonkawa tribe aided their white brothers to exterminate or place on reservations the unfriendly "hostiles" among the other tribes, the Comanches, the Apaches, and the Kiowas. It

would be interesting to know just what the Indians thought of the Whites, but like the lion and the lobo, the Indian did not write stories.

The book contains interesting anecdotes of outlaws, cowboys, and the constant grudges between cattlemen and the farmers.

Frontier women of a very sturdy stock came in for their share of praise.

There are stories of politics and the Texas Grange movement. The reader gets the distinct impression that the author is definitely pro-cattlemen, and against the dirt or cotton farmer.

Only a few typographical errors were noted, a few trite expressions are too frequently used. The book contains a few good photographs, some rather crudely written but very informative notes, and a fair index.

Though at times not so polished, the book is, on the whole, interesting and well written. The author undoubtedly was primarily interested in giving a graphic (not a sensational) picture of pioneer days in that part of Texas where he lived. He certainly keeps throughout the work the "flavor" of the West. In this respect the book is authentic.

The reader feels a sense of genuine sadness when near the close of the book, the author quotes Badger Clark's poem on the passing of the Western pioneer:

'Twas good to live when all the range
Without no fence or fuss,
Belonged in the partnership with God,
The Government and us.

With skyline bounds from east to west,
With room to go and come,
I liked my fellowman the best
When he was scattered some.

When my old soul hunts range and rest,
Beyond the last divide,
Just plant me on some strip of West
That's sunny, lone, and wide.

Let cattle rub my headstone round,
And coyotes wail their kin,
Let hosses come and paw the mound,
But don't you fence it in.

The buffalo and the old pioneer are gone forever, but a few cowboys and the wily little coyote are with us still. And there's still plenty of room for men in the new frontier of skyways, cities, and plains.

F. M. KERCHEVILLE.

University of New Mexico.

Broncho Apache. By Paul I. Wellman. (The Macmillan Company, New York, 1936; IX+303 pp.; no bibliog., illustrations, or index; \$2.00.)

Broncho Apache, an historical novel, is the third book by Mr. Wellman to be brought out by Macmillan Company. In contrast with his two earlier books, *Death on the Prairie*, and *Death in the Desert*, this is not a documented resumé of historical facts.

This time Mr. Wellman has written the story of Massai, a Chiricahua Apache of Gerónimo's band, about whom there is little actually known. Mr. Wellman's historical material has apparently been confined to the stories of a few old Apaches still living on the White Mountain reservation, and to the reports of those white men who encountered Massai as a hostile Apache—General Miles and the agents of the San Carlos and Mescalero reservations in the late '80's.

From these meager sources, Mr. Wellman has attempted to reconstruct what he calls the most remarkable feat of any Indian, Apache or otherwise. Massai was the warrior who escaped from the prison train which was carrying Gerónimo and his people to Florida. It is known that he jumped from the train in Illinois; that he appeared at the San Carlos reservation a year later, after crossing half a continent with no one being aware of his passing.

From that year, 1887, for another three years or so, white accounts call him a killer, a raider, a "broncho"

Apache, at war with Americans, Mexicans, and the Apache members of his own race who had tried to turn him over to the military authorities. He is known to have been captured once; he is credited with killings by the score; he is believed to have kidnapped and murdered Apache women. It is certain that soldiers and Indian scouts of the United States army were constantly on the trail looking for him. In the end, General Miles stated that he was reported killed by the troops.

Such is the story of Massai as it is known. Upon this, Mr. Wellman has built a novel wherein he supplies all the background of events in Massai's life. In the sections that deal with made up scenes, Mr. Wellman has chosen to set the story of the Indian against the small ordinariness and dirty prurient life of Americans and the cruelties of Mexicans. If this was done to offset the character of the Apache killer, it is less effective than the contrast in those scenes describing the actual people whose business it was to hunt the killer.

The writer who frankly calls his book a novel can not be held too strictly to account for historical inaccuracies. One wonders, however, if there was any Apache in the '80's who had never heard of the Kiowas and Comanches, and whether the character of Nachite (Nahche in more familiar spelling,) was really as weak and effeminate as Wellman describes it, and where and what was the Jornada Del Muerto north of Janos Plain. There might well have been more historical background included. The opening pages with their reference to Geronimo's surrender and Miles' breaking of Gatewood's promises seem inadequate even to the telling of a story. Nor is there any explanation ever made of the reason for Apache turning against Apache.

As a novelist, it is to be hoped that Mr. Wellman will break away from a stilted style of sentence structure and an over elaborate use of words that obtrude now and then, particularly in the first half of the book. In that part of the book too, one is always conscious of the difficulty of trying to

imagine thoughts in an Apache mind when they must be expressed in terms of an English sentence. This unnaturalness Mr. Wellman seems to get away from better in the latter half of the book which, in style and content of material, is much better done.

MILDRED S. ADLER.

Albuquerque.

Arizona's Dark and Bloody Ground. By Earle R. Forrest. (The Caxton Printers, Ltd., Caldwell, Idaho, 1936. 370 pp., illustrations and map, index. \$3.00.)

Through personal interviews, newspapers, court records, and correspondence, the author has traced with painstaking care and impartial judgment the story of the feud in the late 1880's between the Grahams and the Tewksburys in Pleasant Valley, central Arizona. Smouldering hostilities, engendered by charges and counter-charges of cattle rustling, broke out into open warfare when the Tewksburys sponsored the invasion of this cattle country by the Daggs Brothers of Flagstaff with their flocks of sheep. As a result, about twenty-five men lost their lives.

The story is exciting enough to hold the attention of the reader, but unfortunately is marred by repetition and unnecessary labor to create the atmosphere of "old Arizona." Sheriff Owen killing three men in a fight at close quarters is better than fiction.

The book is printed with large type and solidly bound. Notes are relegated to the appendix and are mostly explanatory. A map, bibliography, and index are supplied.

FRANK D. REEVE.

University of New Mexico.
Albuquerque.

Old Bill Williams, Mountain Man. By Alpheus H. Favour. (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 1936. 229 pp. ill., bibliog., index. \$3.00.)

Although a sky-piercing mountain and a not inconsiderable stream were named in his honor, William S. Williams,

known to his contemporaries as "Old Bill Williams," mountain man, trapper, pathfinder and Indian fighter, took rather a minor part in the winning of the Southwest for civilization and modern day progress. Yet, he was one of a coterie of pioneers who together prepared the way for the settlement of the Rocky Mountain region and whose adventures are the right stuff for romance and biography.

There being no diary nor letters as far as known and only incidental references to Williams by associates, Alpheus H. Favour, the author of a life of Williams, just published, has nevertheless managed to piece together not only a vivid biography but also an entrancing picture of the times, the places, and expeditions in which Old Bill Williams figured. His training as a lawyer has given Favour a facility for hunting down sources, sifting evidence and reconstructing a convincing and fascinating portrait from fragmentary records widely scattered, which ought to give the book a favorite place on library shelves. The bare biographical facts revealed possibly could have been condensed in the first two of the sixteen chapters, but the background from which Williams emerges a flesh and blood hero is painted so fully that the reader is repaid with a comprehensive and fairly accurate view of a most exciting period in the history of the West.

Williams was thirty-eight years of age when he arrived in Santa Fé. The author points out (p. 65) that "he had started out in life from a good home; he had been well brought up, with some education and religious training." In fact, in his youth he had been a preacher of the backwoods type, more or less fanatical, a counterpart of Jedediah Smith, but a renegade after he had married an Osage woman and joined that tribe. Writes Favour: "His ideas on religious questions had undergone a change, and he was beginning to approach that subject from an Indian viewpoint. He began to entertain doubts as to whether the white man's religion was the correct one, possibly because in his contact with the Indians, he had seen them living happy and contented, with

a religion fundamentally different from his own. His viewpoint had changed in regard to values. What he, as a young man, would have revolted against, now seemed second nature, and what he, as a young man, had valued, had entirely lost its attractiveness. Houses, dress, books, cleanliness, restraint, and the refinements of civilization had become irksome and of no interest to him." All the efforts of the author to present his hero in a favorable light fail to gloss over the brutality, the coarseness, the excesses of the old trapper who finally meets death at the hands of the Utes who had adopted him. When they learned of their mistake they gave him a chief's burial.

Williams at one time set up a store in Taos and settled down to the humdrum life of a country storekeeper. Recites the author (p. 73): "Accustomed to action, and plenty of it, the haggling with the Mexican women over small differences in price finally wore out his patience, and Williams went out of business in a novel way. He took all of his stock of cloth goods, consisting of bolts of printed calicos, into the street and soon had a crowd of women about him. Then he said, 'Here, damn you, if I can't sell you goods, I will give them to you,' and taking hold of the end of the calico, he would throw the bolts out as far as he could, and let the women fight and scramble for the cloth. With each bolt he thus relieved his mind with respect to his feelings toward the women of the community. Calico was then worth a dollar a yard."

Albert Pike who was with Williams for a time in the fall of 1832, describes him as "a man about six feet one inch in height, gaunt, red-headed, with a hard, weather beaten face, marked deeply with the small pox." He was "all muscle and sinew, and the most indefatigable hunter and trapper in the world," who had "no glory except in the woods," and "a shrewd, cute, original man, and far from illiterate." This was after nine years as a preacher and missionary, twelve years on the fringe of civilization, and seven years in the mountains and on the plains. Seventeen years later, at the

time of his death, Williams was described by Dr. Benjamin J. Kern as having gray hair, a figure somewhat bent, a fine profile, with quick restless eyes and with strong marks of humor about his mouth.

Williams had a *flair* for Indian languages and dialects. He helped the missionaries among the Osages to get together a dictionary of about two thousand words. It was said of him that "when he arose in the council and spoke, all listened." Bill Hamilton relates that Williams gave him a manuscript of a history he had written of his life among the Apaches and Navajos and the Pueblos. Hamilton considered this a very accurate account of these three tribes which delineated with preciseness their "characteristics, habits and customs." Unfortunately, this manuscript was lost after a fire in 1872 at the Crow agency on the Yellowstone, where it had been placed in a safe by Hamilton, at that time U. S. marshal.

The book is well printed, interestingly illustrated with halftone reproductions of portraits and western scenery. A few inaccuracies have crept into the text but they are relatively unimportant. An appendix of notes referring to citations in the text, an extensive bibliography, a detailed index, and several maps as well as a reproduction in color of a painting by Marjorie Thomas of "Old Bill Williams at Cochetopa Pass" help to make the volume a delight to the book lover.

P. A. F. W.

Ibero-Americana. The series, *Ibero-Americana*, published by the University of California Press under an editorial board made up of H. E. Bolton, A. L. Kroeber, and C. O. Sauer, comprises a collection of studies of Latin American cultures, native and transplanted, pre-European, colonial and modern. Although racial studies are not excluded from the collection, the established policy prescribes that in the main its publications shall be contributions to culture history. The numbers of the series have no set periodicity of issue but come forth upon expedient occasions. The numbers

are paged individually, and vary in size between 30 and 150 pages.

The first number was issued in April, 1932. Eleven are now published, the last having been issued in August, 1935. These are as follows:

- No. 1. Carl Sauer and Donald Brand, "Aztatlán: Prehistoric Mexican Frontier on the Pacific Coast," 94 pages, 14 plates, 14 figures and maps. \$2.00.
- No. 2. Ralph L. Beals, "The Comparative Ethnology of Northern Mexico before 1750," 134 pages, 28 maps. \$1.35.
- No. 3. Carl Sauer, "The Road to Cíbola," 58 pages, 1 map. \$0.75.
- No. 4. Paul S. Taylor, "A Spanish-Mexican Peasant Community: Arandas in Jalisco," 94 pages, 8 plates, 4 figures, 1 map. \$1.50.
- No. 5. Carl Sauer, "The Distribution of Aboriginal Tribes and Languages of Northwestern Mexico," 94 pages, 1 map.
- No. 6. Ralph L. Beals, "The Acaxee: A Mountain Tribe of Durango and Sinaloa," 36 pages. \$0.35.
- No. 7. Lesley Byrd Simpson, "Studies in the Administration of the Indians of New Spain," 130 pages, 12 plates, 2 maps.
- No. 8. A. L. Kroeber, "Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico," 28 pages, 1 map.
- No. 9. Paul Radin, "An Historical Legend of the Zapotecs," 30 pages.
- No. 10. Carl Sauer, "Aboriginal Populations of Northwestern Mexico," 34 pages, 1 map.
- No. 11. Gladys Ayer Nomland, "New Archaeological Sites from the State of Falcón, Venezuela," 114 pages, 6 plates, 20 figures.

While every number is a valuable contribution to the more general field of culture history in America, certain of them are especially pertinent to Southwestern studies. Among these are numbers 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, and 10.

Number 2 offers an aid in the reconstruction of the cultural landscape at the time of the European conquest. Culture provinces are discussed. The results of the study may be listed as:

1. The definition of a large area in northern Mexico in which pottery and agriculture were lacking.
2. The determination that sub-Mexican culture probably existed in Sinaloa as far north as Rio Sinoloa at the time of the conquest.
3. That a culture typologically similar to Mexican, or perhaps Mayan, once spread to within two hundred miles of the Rio Grande in Tamaulipas.
4. The definition of the northern limits of various culture traits.
5. The establishment of continuous distribution for certain traits between Mexican and Southwestern cultures and the suggestion of definite culture connection between the Southwest and the areas to the south.
6. The division of the northern Mexican region, tentatively, into several cultural provinces.

Various questions of culture history are discussed and answers suggested.

Number 3, "The Road to Cíbola," develops historically the marking-out and use of the land passage course through northwestern New Spain to the legendary Seven Cities. Some interesting facts set forth by the report are:

1. Initially the road was a series of well used Indian trails.
2. The successive Spanish explorations blocked out section by section the whole route from Guadalajara, and the Plateau of Jalisco, along the western margin of the Sierra Madre, through localities where now are situated San Sebastián, San Miguel de Culiacán, Petatlán, Vacapa, Sonora Corazones, and on up finally to Zuñi and the pueblo country.
3. The route was followed by:
 - Francisco Cortez, 1524-25
 - Nuño de Guzmán, 1530-31
 - Diego de Guzmán, 1533
 - Cabeza de Vaca, 1535-36
 - Fray Marcos, 1538-39
 - Coronado, 1540
 - Ibarra, 1564-65

Ibarra's entrada concluded the period of exploration. He followed the old Cíbola route to the American border and then turned off. A few years later the Jesuit labors com-

menced on the northern frontiers. The ancient highway played a principal role in their expansion. Along the route were strung the main administrative foundations of the church and crown. The road to Cibola became the "Camino Real" of the northwestern frontier. It was the great artery of communication between Mexico and the Southwest.

Numbers 5, 8, and 10, since they deal with certain aspects of the populations and cultures of northwestern Mexico, form a group which might be considered as a unit. In Number 5 a reconstruction is made of the linguistic and tribal areas as they were in aboriginal times. Number 8 is a commentary on the linguistic conclusions of Number 5. These conclusions are examined in the light of knowledge concerning the Uto-Aztec classification. Number 10 considers the density of the aboriginal population of the area. The report shows the population between the Gila and the Rio Grande de Santiago to have been in excess of half a million, or almost three-fourths of the number now living there.

Number 7 has two divisions. The first gives a transcription, with several facsimile illustrations, of a contemporary copy of the lost Laws of Burgos, which was the first comprehensive attempt to regulate relations between Indians and Spaniards. The Laws of Burgos, the result of a learned junta called by Ferdinand the Catholic, and signed by the king on December 27, 1512, afforded the Indian his first meager protection against the Spaniard's atrocities. The second division presents a history of the civil congregation of the Indians, undertaken in New Spain between 1590 and 1605. As the author says, the plan is adopted of "letting the documents tell their own story, leaving intact those passages which illustrate vital or typical phases and summarizing in brackets all the rest." Although the congregations between 1590 and 1605 were located entirely in central Mexico, the Southwest was indirectly affected in as much as from Mexico emanated the impulses which determined the Spaniards' Indian policy to the north.

The *Ibero-Americana*, distributed through both the University of California Press, (Berkeley, California), and the Cambridge University Press (London, England), forms a valuable reference source, not only for students of general American culture history but for those of Southwestern culture history in particular.

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Yale University Publications in Anthropology, Numbers One to Seven. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1936, \$2.00. 145 pp., 1 pl., 5 figs., no index.

The first seven Publications in Anthropology of Yale University, which have been appearing at irregular intervals during this year are now obtainable in one paper-bound volume. These papers represent the "results of researches in the general field of Anthropology which are directly conducted or otherwise sponsored by the Section of Anthropology of the Department of the Social Sciences in the Graduate School, the Department of Anthropology of the Peabody Museum, and the Department of Anthropology of the Institute of Human Relations." To date fifteen numbers are published, in press, or in preparation—under the general editorship of Edward Sapir and Leslie Spier.

It will be a pleasure to all anthropologists, and especially to Americanists, to welcome this excellent series into company with such older series as University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology, Peabody Museum (of Harvard) Papers, and University of Pennsylvania (University) Museum Anthropological Publications. The published list of titles for the first fifteen papers indicates that the American Southwest will fare well at the hands of Yale anthropologists, for five numbers are devoted to Southwestern ethnography and ethnology.

The seven numbers under immediate consideration are all short papers of from 14 to 26 pages in length. Number

One, "Population Changes among the Northern Plains Indians" by Clark Wissler, is a study of the relative sizes of Blackfoot, Assiniboin, and Western Cree tribes and bands during the period of the fur trade (essentially 1670-1870), and a consideration of population trends during the reservation period (1870-ca. 1934). Early estimates made by travelers, trappers, priests, officials, et al., have been skilfully utilized. The noted fluctuations in population seem to have been conditioned principally by the historic interplay of the horse, firearms, buffalo hunt, fur trade, inter-tribal warfare, and smallpox and other epidemics. The reservation system has acted as a stabilizer, with a consequent diminution of considerable fluctuation in numbers.

Peter Buck's "Regional Diversity in the Elaboration of Sorcery in Polynesia" is paper Number Two. The practice of sorcery has been treated under the heads of offensive, defensive, and protective techniques. Regional comparisons were made by dividing Polynesia into western, southern, central, eastern, and northern parts, and representing each region with selected groups—respectively, Tonga, New Zealand, Tahiti, Marquesas, and Hawaii. The western or Tongan technique can be set off from that of the other four regions, since death was brought about by pure magic in Tonga, and by contagious magic in the remainder of Polynesia.

In paper Number Three, "Cultural Relations of the Gila River and Lower Colorado Tribes," Leslie Spier has drawn up the most comprehensive tabulation of culture elements made to date for the Gila-Lower Colorado region. Distribution columns are given for the Maricopa, Lower Colorado Yumans, and the Pima-Papago. The conclusion arrived at is that a large part of Pima-Papago culture was the same as that of the Lower Colorado Yumans, although not to the extent true for Maricopa culture. The case for including the Gila River Yumans with the Lower Colorado Yumans in a Lower Colorado culture province is well made, but a reasonable doubt may be entertained concerning the Pima-Papago.

Number Four, "Hopi Hunting and Hunting Ritual," by Ernest Beaglehole, presents an interesting and fairly com-

plete summary of information available concerning the animals hunted, the hunting techniques followed, and the rituals performed for various types of hunting among the Hopi a generation or two ago. The remembrance of many rituals is dying out rapidly with the diminution or extermination of various species hunted, and with the less reverent attitude and more efficient weapons employed by the younger Hopi.

"Navaho Warfare," by Willard Hill, (Number Five), describes the types of warfare common to the Navaho about the middle of the nineteenth century, and discusses the ritualistic preparation, equipment, and activities pertaining to the raid and the reprisal. Of interest to Southwesterners will be the explanation given, on pp. 16-18, concerning the War or Squaw Dance.

In "The Economy of a Modern Teton Dakota Community," (Number Six), Scudder Mekeel sketches briefly the present-day economy of the Oglala community of the White Clay District on Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota. Here there has been only passive adjustment to an imposed agricultural type of economy, although stock raising has been far more successful than crop farming. The psychological attitudes of the people are set down as three in number, corresponding with "the particular way of getting a living which was in vogue during the impressionable years of those within the given stratum." The old relive a glorious past; the middle-aged rely entirely upon the government; and the young uneagerly prepare themselves for an uncertain future.

The seventh, and last, paper of this volume deals with "The Distribution of the Northern Athapaskan Indians." Cornelius Osgood has divided the northern or Canadian-Alaskan Athapaskans into 25 groups. These have been mapped according to location when first contacted by Europeans. The bulk of the paper is devoted to considering each group as to range, sub-divisions, reference work, and name. Culturally and linguistically, the Northern Athapaskans are found to differ among themselves far more than do the Southern Athapaskans.

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University of New Mexico.

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ERRATA

p. 10, line 1, *for* absolution, *read* absolutism.

p. 76, last line, *for* patient *read* patent.

p. 133, note 7, *for* 1570 *read* 1577.

p. 154, line 12, *for* Carta *read* Charta.

p. 173, note 52, after *Eulate* insert *gou*ʳ.

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